

The University of Chicago

WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK
OF THEODOR MUNDT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1936

By
EDGAR CROWTHER CUMINGS

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1936

The University of Chicago

WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK
OF THEODOR MUNDT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1936

By

EDGAR CROWTHER CUMINGS

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1936



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. THE TREATMENT OF WOMAN BEFORE YOUNG GERMANY	3
II. INFLUENCES ON MUNDT	8
III. WOMAN IN THE WORKS OF MUNDT	20
IV. THE POSITION OF MUNDT IN YOUNG GERMANY.	40
BIBLIOGRAPHY	47



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41548411_0053

INTRODUCTION

Theodor Amadeus Mundt was born September 19, 1808, in Potsdam. Shortly after his birth, his mother moved to Berlin, and there Mundt spent his formative years. In 1825, he entered the University of Berlin, where he studied philosophy and philology under such famous scholars as Hegel, Lachmann, and Ranke. Following the custom of German students, Mundt transferred to the University of Erlangen in 1828, and received his degree from that institution in 1830. After a brief stay in Leipzig, Mundt returned to Berlin in an effort to obtain a professorship at the University of Berlin, but his attempt was abortive because Heinrich Steffens, then Rector of the University, and others considered some of Mundt's statements in Madonna radical. Mundt continued to remain in Berlin, writing and editing journals, until 1837, when he travelled throughout Europe, and returned to Berlin in 1839 to marry Luise Mühlbach. Through the efforts of Schelling he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Berlin in 1842, and in 1848 he was called to the University of Breslau as professor of literature and history. Returning to Berlin in 1850, he became university librarian, and held this office until a quarrel with some of the officials caused him to resign. Mundt died in Berlin on the last day of November, 1861.

The present study seeks to investigate the development of Mundt's ideas and theories concerning woman and her position in society. The chief portion of this essay deals with Mundt's feminist ideas through his writings. It is followed by an examination of his theories in relation to the tenets of other Young Germans;¹ namely, Heine, Gutzkow, Laube, and Wienbarg.

The problems concerning woman and her position in society had long been in the air. Thoughts of the "free woman" were present before Saint-Simonism popularized the expression. "Man wollte des Glück der Ehe befreit sehen vom Einfluss der Kirche und der Standesvorurtheile, man wollte die Stellung der Frau selbstständiger machen den überlieferten Privilegien des Mannes gegenüber."²

¹By Young Germans I mean more particularly the men who were named in the Federal Decree of December 10, 1835: Heine, Gutzkow, Laube, Wienbarg, and Mundt.

²Johannes Proells, Das junge Deutschland (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 18.

Women as authors were becoming important. Such striking personalities as Rahel, Bettina, and Charlotte Stieglitz stimulated their male contemporaries to write about women.

Woman and the problems affecting her occupied Mundt, a typical representative of his age and group. Three of the outstanding women of his time influenced him deeply. One, Charlotte Stieglitz, exerted a decided influence on his life; another, Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, colored his thought and writings. His wife, Clara Müller, better known as Luise Mühlbach, was of considerable importance in his later life. Furthermore, women played an important rôle in the only two of his books, Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal (1835) and Madonna (1835), which are known to the present-day student of German literature.¹ As we shall see, the majority of Mundt's novels and short-stories have women as central figures.

Mundt did not wish to bring about a revolution of the social order. He desired rather to act as a mediator between the new ideas and the masses.² Naturally, this desire colors his views regarding the position of woman.

¹There have been numerous treatises on Young German feminism. Some have included research concerning Mundt and his views. In no case, as far as I am aware, is the bibliography by any means as complete as in the present study, and in several instances judgment is passed on the basis of Madonna alone.

²Hanna Quadfasel, Theodor Mundts literarische Kritik und die Prinzipien seiner "Aesthetik," Diss. (Heidelberg, 1932), p. 35.

CHAPTER I

THE TREATMENT OF WOMAN BEFORE YOUNG GERMANY

Although the Young German ideas about woman and marriage cannot deny the parentage of Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde (1799) and Schleiermacher's Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde (1800; republished by Gutzkow in 1833), one must go farther back to find the beginnings of feminism. The sphere of woman had been very limited until the end of the eighteenth century. Before then, woman's subordination to man was a matter of course, and there was little feminism.¹ Gradually a strong desire for the independence of woman became manifest, until Rousseau offered concrete suggestions toward the improvement of woman's position in society.² Rousseau, notwithstanding the cynicism of Voltaire, saw the mistakes and frailties of woman and fought them with fine psychological insight, but nevertheless demanded for her the right to passion.³ He thought woman's duty was to please man and thus rise through him to her nobler self. At the same time, he championed a purer, freer, more motherly ideal of womanhood and opposed the existing artificial and unnatural world surrounding woman.⁴ The development of the later eighteenth century in Germany was a struggle on the one hand for civil rights, on the other for intellectual

¹K. A. Wieth-Knudsen, Feminism, A Sociological Study of the Woman-Question from Ancient Times to the Present Day (London, 1928), p. 234.

²See Marie Bernays, Die deutsche Frauenbewegung (Leipzig und Berlin, 1920), p. 15: "Man hat mit Recht die Entstehung der Frauenbewegung auf Rousseau zurückgeführt, weil seit seinen Schriften die Stellung der Frau in der Volksgemeinschaft zum Problem wurde und nicht mehr nur wie bisher die Entfaltung der intellektuellen und sittlichen Persönlichkeit der Frau." An interesting fact is that the letter-novel, made the vogue by Rousseau in his Nouvelle Héloïse (1760), persisted in Heinse's Ardinghello, Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde, Schleiermacher's Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde, George Sand's Lélia, and Heinrich Laube's Die Poeten and Die Bürger.

³Irmgard Tanneberger, Die Frauen der Romantik und das soziale Problem (Oldenburg, 1928), p. 14.

⁴Bernays, op. cit., p. 14.

recognition for women. German Idealism, with the humane thoughts of Herder and Schiller of free, harmonious development of mankind, helped to create a larger place for woman. Schiller, in his poem, Würde der Frauen, described woman in an idealistic way, and Goethe's contacts with educated women in Weimar led him to esteem their intellectual ability. In Goethe's belief that woman should stimulate man through her high mental ability and morality, we find one of the important trends of the eighteenth century. Die Wahlverwandtschaften (1809), one of the noteworthy books in the development of the ideas touching woman, showed how happiness disappeared as soon as the limits of morality were crossed. Goethe praised marriage in this novel, and demonstrated that it could be happy only when combining love with moral esteem. Gone was the sentimentality of Gottsched, Gellert, and Klopstock, with its origins in Pietism and its emphasis on the emotions. Woman had, by the turn of the century, enlarged her sphere of interest: "Es ist das entscheidend Neue, dass die Frau nicht mehr ihre Bestimmung in Liebe und Mutterschaft allein--geschweige im Intellekt--sucht, sondern als Ganzes, als Persönlichkeit geachtet und geliebt sein will."¹

As the result of so much concern with the problems of woman, literature about her increased tremendously during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Heinse, in Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln (1787), advocated the free enjoyment of life. This enjoyment was to be artistically formed and the highest happiness of mankind was to consist in sensual pleasure ennobled by art. Heinse therefore championed the freedom of the senses and a communistic society based on free love. I mention here that the term "free love" means only one thing in this study: namely, a consummated love existing outside the bonds of marriage. Heinse's free love, in contrast to that which we shall encounter later, possessed a pantheistic background and was intimately linked with art. Ardinghello, a worshipper of sensual joys, was nevertheless no dissolute character. Heinse opposed marriage as an indissoluble state and created the "free woman" of Romanticism and Young Germany.² The outstanding exponent of civil rights for women was Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, in his books Über die Ehe (1774) and Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber (1792). In contrast to Rousseau and Heinse, Hippel's theories about the emancipation

¹Alfred Schier, Die Liebe in der Frühromantik, Diss. (Marburg, 1912), p. 38.

²Fritz Gerathewohl, Saint-Simonistische Ideen in der deutschen Literatur (München, 1920), p. 27.

of woman lay exclusively in the field of civil rights. Since he could see no difference, other than sex, between the capabilities of man and woman, he advocated complete equality for woman in public life. Thus, there existed just before the rise of Romanticism three trends: One was toward worship of the senses, as in Ardinghello, another was toward emphasis on spiritual, intellectual elements, as represented by Schiller, and the third went in the direction of political emancipation for woman, in the manner of Hippel. Romanticism strove to attain a synthesis of the physical and the intellectual aims, but neglected political emancipation, which did not come into its own until the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹

The immediate roots of the Young German ideas about woman lie in Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and Schleiermacher's Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde. Lucinde stated many of the ideas current in the nineteenth century and criticized civil conditions. From this book a direct line leads to the later expositions of Young Germany. The book was a hymn to a religion of sensual love and defended the rights of the senses, as earlier in Ardinghello. In contrast, however, to the pantheistic, artistic free love of Heinse, Schlegel stressed the sexual phase of love. In showing that one could not experience the highest love without having passed through preliminary stages, Schlegel was compelled to construct a practical religion of sensual love, designed to make woman free. Schlegel did not demand political emancipation as Hippel had done.² He believed woman should unite winning feminine charm with masculine wit and wisdom; to him woman was neither a learned machine nor a trifling doll with an undeveloped mind and sentimental feelings, but a normal human-being with the same passions and the same right to freedom as man. Personal experiences with intelligent woman gave Schlegel his conception of womanhood, love, and marriage.³ Lucinde, in addition to its presentation of free love, is also biographical, for it mirrored the author's youthful experiences with Dorothea Veit.⁴

Friedrich Schleiermacher reacted favorably toward Lucinde.

¹Eduard Royen, Die Auffassung der Liebe im Jungen Deutschland, Diss. (München, 1914), p. 10.

²P. Kluckhohn, Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik (Halle, 1922), p. 371.

³Royen, op. cit., pp. 10 f.

⁴Theobald Ziegler, Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1901), p. 47.

His ideas, expressed in the Vertraute Brief über die Lucinde, run parallel to those of Schlegel. First of all, he wanted free cultivation of character and individuality, regardless of sex or moral codes. He believed temporary trials in love would prove its honesty and durability.¹ He favored the frankness of Lucinde and castigated those who saw immorality in it, for from his point of view the erotic was divine. He, like Schlegel, did not advocate political emancipation for woman or the use of political and legal means to better the conditions of marriage.² Unless the union be based on mutual understanding and love, he saw no justification for marriage.³

In the eyes of both Schlegel and Schleiermacher, marriage was an arrangement based on equality between husband and wife, who were to supplement and stimulate each other. Woman was to be free, intelligent, and strive to attain man's level in wisdom, culture, art, and honor. The Romanticists lived as they preached: moral tolerance was evident in marriage and free love. Although double marriages and affairs with married women were frequent, they did not affect friendships between participants. In Jena, Friedrich Schlegel lived in free love with the divorced Dorothea Veit, and A. W. Schlegel's wife, Caroline, an earlier love of F. Schlegel, left him to marry Schelling.⁴

Young Germany brought with it a definite transition to social literature, with moral rather than economic implications.⁵ During the epoch of Romanticism, comparatively few works had dealt with social problems. The Young Germans pictured society and its evils more fully and realistically than had the previous literary school. The keen disappointment following the wars of liberation led them to write social and political criticism. The long-awaited freedom was illusory, and the unity of Germany did not materialize; reaction followed the tragedy of the wars of liberation. In the youth of the land the idea of a united Germany took root. The

¹Theobald Ziegler, op. cit., p. 47.

²Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 432.

³Ibid., p. 457.

⁴G. Steinhausen, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur (Leipzig und Wien, 1913), II, 432 ff.

⁵Feodor Wehl attributes the changed position of woman in Young Germany to the French Revolution and to the "Goethe'sche Art der Frauendarstellung," which created first the full, virile woman of the 19th century (Das junge Deutschland [Hamburg, 1886], pp. 42 ff.).

literary men of Young Germany--reformers and realists--attacked existing evils in an effort to improve society and the nation. An added stimulus to this interest in social problems came from the July Revolution of Paris, which made a lasting impression upon Gutzkow, Laube, and Mundt. The Young Germans, in close touch with life and reality, felt morally compelled to attempt the correction of all social problems.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCES ON MUNDT

Like other Young Germans, Theodor Mundt, child of a growing metropolis, was interested in social problems. In Potsdam and Berlin, he grew up amidst the conditions he later criticized and attempted to correct.¹ Mundt said that society in Germany was led by prudish people, who spent their time putting on airs and condemning "jede tiefe innerliche Aufregung als dem guten Ton und der Bequemlichkeit zuwider."² He wanted to know and describe human-beings: "Wie sie in den Theatern lachen, in den Kirchen beten, auf der Promenade sich repräsentiren, und in ihren Gesellschaften sich langweilen, soll mir ein wahres Vergnügen machen."³ He was interested in all social institutions: "Ich erwiedere, dasz mir kein Gegenstand in Kunst, Religion, Philosophie und Staatsleben so fremd ist und sein darf, über den ich mich nicht angeregt fühlte."⁴

Two distinct kinds of influences affected Mundt. First, he came under the close personal or literary influence of three women: Rahel, Charlotte, and Luise.⁵ Second, such general influences as the ideas of St. Simonism, Theodor von Hippel, and others, affected him. These acted on him chiefly through books, and are less important than the influences of the women.

Rahel was the most important of the specific influences. She exemplified the emancipated woman of the age. Intensely vital and intellectually awake, she took an active interest in social problems. Her life and ideas, even more than her written word, showed her contemporaries that a woman possessed capabilities

¹One of the best descriptions of the works of Mundt is contained in E. M. Butler, The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 320-395. In addition to material about Saint-Simonism, Butler gives a good estimate of Mundt's literary worth.

²Mundt, Kritische Wälder (Leipzig, 1833), p. 1.

³Mundt, Madonna (Leipzig, 1835), pp. 12 f.

⁴Mundt, Kritische Wälder, p. x.

⁵See "Introduction," p. 2.

equal to those of man.¹ Her salon, which constituted her chief interest,² was a magnet for most of the outstanding literary and political figures of the day, but it is uncertain whether Mundt knew her personally.³ Her letters and diary showed him a soul possessed by the world and receptive to all ideas which might further humanity. On June 27, 1833, Mundt, wishing to make the acquaintance of Varnhagen, sent the latter a copy of Kritische Wälder and one of his Novellen. Varnhagen sent in answer the first edition of Rahel's letters, edited after her death in March, 1833.⁴ This was Mundt's first encounter with Rahel's ideas. He expressed his admiration for the book in a letter to Varnhagen of August 3, 1833, and received permission to review it. This Mundt did in the Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik of October, 1833.⁵ This brilliant review showed how well Mundt understood Rahel's complex and difficult personality. "It [Rahel's Book] was . . . his first intellectual revelation, the first book he had read with all the powers of his mind awake."⁶ Mundt himself testified: "Ihre

¹Interesting is Grillparzer's characterization, which Ernst Heilborn gives: "Nun fing aber die alternde, vielleicht nie hübsche, von Krankheit zusammengekrümmte, etwas einer Fee, um nicht zu sagen Hexe ähnliche Frau [Rahel] zu sprechen an, und ich war bezaubert" (Zwischen zwei Revolutionen [Berlin, 1927], p. 101).

²See Rahel, ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde (Berlin, 1834), III, 334. Rahel wrote, on April 8, 1828, to Princess von Carolath concerning her salon: "Ich habe übermorgen zweiunddreissig Personen zum Thee; und heute schon Domestiken möchte ich sagen. Weshalb, fragen Sie: weshalb, frag' ich; ich musz."

³Otto Berdrow maintains that Mundt knew Rahel, but I have been unable to find any proof of personal contact with her in Mundt's works or letters (Berdrow, Rahel Varnhagen [Stuttgart, 1902], p. 379). Both Dragutin Subotic (Rahel Levin und das junge Deutschland, Diss. [München, 1914], p. 39) and Hanna Quadfasel (op. cit., p. 32) assert that Mundt did not know Rahel. Gustav Kühne, Mundt's closest friend, met Rahel only once.

⁴Rahel, ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde. This was first published in one volume in 1833 and later in three volumes in 1834.

⁵As it was impossible for me to see the Jahrbücher, I am dependent on Butler, op. cit., for the discussion of Mundt's articles on Rahel.

⁶Butler, op. cit., p. 344.

Briefe machten in manchem Betracht den Eindruck einer grossen geistigen Cloake, in welcher die Zeit die sittliche und geistige Fäulnis ihrer besten Elemente abgeworfen und zusammengehäuft hat, in der aber zugleich der Dünger einer grossen und neuen Zukunft sich bemerkbar und riechbar machen will."¹ Mundt called Rahel a woman with a fine feeling for justice.² In June, 1835, his second article on Rahel appeared in the Jahrbücher. This article, devoted to her ideas on St. Simonism, praised her attack on the St. Simonian religion. Mundt continued to mention Rahel and her ideas at intervals. The "Posthornsymphonie" in Madonna showed the same love and zest for life as Rahel's philosophy. In Madonna, where he wrote a sketch based on Karl Egon Ebert's epic, Wlasta (1829), Mundt named protectors of woman.³ They had, however, false conceptions of woman's emancipation, and did not answer its problems. Rahel's absence from the list shows, I believe, that Mundt did not wish to condemn her thoughts on woman. He asserted that only unhappy women should write, and called Rahel, apparently without reason, "the great unhappy one," whose letters were good because of her unhappiness.⁴ Mundt always displayed great admiration for her and called her the mother of Young Germany. He discussed her views on religion and social conditions, and found her in accord with St. Simonian concepts, other than religion.⁵

Rahel was for Mundt the most intelligent woman of her age. Her ideas, expressed in her letters, impressed and influenced him greatly.⁶ She and Mundt approached each other closely in their ideas about art; her thought influenced particularly his emphasis on the national character of art and his wish to restore the rights of the senses. Mundt often praised her involved and obscure style, but he never imitated it. In their thoughts on poetry, which arrive at the same result by different paths, he was at least stimulated by her. Her religious views may have influenced him, although this is doubtful.⁷ In philosophy, where Mundt at first

¹Mundt, Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart (Leipzig, 1853), p. 637.

²Mundt, Der Freihafen (Altona, 1840), IV, 215.

³Mundt, Madonna, pp. 302 ff.

⁴Ibid., p. 421.

⁵Mundt, Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart, pp. 634 ff.

⁶Subotic, op. cit., pp. 38 f.

⁷Subotic, op. cit., pp. 41 ff. Otto Draeger believes that Rahel influenced Mundt in religion (Theodor Mundt und seine Beziehungen zum Jungen Deutschland [Marburg, 1909], p. 25).

came under the influence of Hegel, but later shifted to opposition of him, Mundt and Rahel held widely divergent opinions.

Rahel's ideas on the problems of woman are closely related to those of Mundt. Like Mundt, she thought woman should be a comrade to man, stimulating and supplementing him. Woman should perform the duties of equalization and mediation in marriage.¹ Rahel desired equality for women in all walks of life, especially in science and literature. Her highest demand, "Seid Menschen!," which Mundt reiterated in Madonna, concerned mainly man's social development.² Her wish for the emancipation of woman resulted as much from her own experiences as from any ideas proceeding from France. She accepted, however, the principal St. Simonian ideas. She had read the St. Simonian periodical, Le Globe, avidly since 1830.³ Like the St. Simonians, she believed in progress, and in the ultimate perfectibility of the universe in intelligence, welfare, and happiness. Akin to St. Simonism were Rahel's demands for a new morality, the rights of the senses, and a new conception of marriage. She wanted individuality in marriage and the opportunity to conduct one's life as one wished. She did not understand how two people could harmonize in marriage without a trial.⁴ Rahel accepted free love in principle, but her respect for tradition would not let her permit its practice.⁵ Habit and indifference, she thought, killed love in marriage. The limitations imposed on woman in marriage irked her, for only a union based on mutual understanding and recognition could be a success. Such a marriage was hers with Varnhagen. Every woman, married or single, should have the right to honor in motherhood. Woman should have the power in the family, for she is the natural head.⁶ In Rahel's ideas about marriage, Mundt saw the basis for a reorganization of social conditions. He called this basis "ein bedeutungsschwangerer Messianismus der Zukunft."⁷

¹Subotic thinks Mundt had early ideas on love and woman similar to later ones of Rahel. Since Mundt possessed the ideas first, influence by Rahel is questionable (op. cit., pp. 49 ff.).

²Lore Feist, Rahel Varnhagens Stellung zwischen Romantik und jungem Deutschland, Diss. (München, 1926), p. 33.

³Berdrow, op. cit., p. 363.

⁴Feist, op. cit., pp. 39 f.

⁵Berdrow, op. cit., p. 365.

⁶Feist, op. cit., pp. 40 ff.

⁷Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen (Wismar und Leipzig, 1837), I, 220.

While Rahel's influence on Mundt was theoretical and intellectual, that of Charlotte Stieglitz was personal. Mundt met this sensitive, impressionable girl in Berlin, in 1832, and was immediately attracted to her. He and the Stieglitz couple formed a small literary circle, where they met and criticized each other's literary efforts.¹ There has been considerable conjecture regarding the possibility that Mundt and Charlotte loved each other. Some of Mundt's contemporaries believed that love for him might have been one of the reasons for Charlotte's suicide, but there is no indication that such was the case, for Charlotte, in her suicide note, expressed the wish that her death might inspire her husband to greater poetic heights. In none of her writings did she so much as hint at love for Mundt. The letters to Esperance, i.e., Charlotte, in Mundt's Moderne Lebenswirren (1834), point to an idealistic relation between the two; to friendship rather than love. In 1840, Mundt gave Charlotte's reasons for ending her life, and wrote that she was motivated solely by the desire to give her husband a newer and freer life and to stimulate his presumed gift for poetry.² Her death affected Mundt deeply, as he testified in a letter to Kühne, in 1834. He writes: "Ich habe an ihr so viel besessen, als Du nur ahnen könntest!" A year later he writes: "Mein Verhältnisz zu ihr kann und darf ich nicht darstellen, und doch spielt es nur zu bedeutsam auch in ihren . . . Tod hinein."³ Mundt's later letters show how quickly he forgot Charlotte. Hence, I am inclined, in spite of the apparent passion

¹H. H. Houben, Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang (Leipzig, 1911), p. 395.

²Mundt, Der Freihafen (1840), IV, 228 ff. Ernst Heilborn writes the following about the Stieglitz pair: "Ihre Ehe [Charlotte's] mit Stieglitz hatte von allem Anbeginn an unter seelischer Überhitzung gelitten. Das ganze Leben wurde auf 'Poesie' gestellt. Er war der Dichter, und muszte es sein; 'lieber Dichter' ihre Anrede an ihn; ein Zitat aus seinen Gedichten ihr Argument ihm gegenüber. Und nun ging Stieglitz, schwachbrüstig wie er ohnehin war, darüber der Atem aus . . . Er kam körperlich herunter, siechte in Miszstimmung hin, drohte, ihrem Empfinden nach, dem Wahnsinn zu verfallen. Und nun flüsterte ihr immer wieder und rastlos erneut Zeit ihrem Opfergedanken zu, diesem Opfergedanken, der nach den Freiheitskriegen zu gespenstern began. Sterben, um ihm im Übermasz des Leids die Dichterweihe zu sichern!" Op. cit., pp. 262 f.

³Edgar Pierson, Gustav Kühne, sein Lebensbild und Briefwechsel mit Zeitgenossen (Dresden und Leipzig, 1889), pp. 22 ff.

betrayed by Mundt's letters to Kühne, to agree with Houben, who thinks it doubtful that Mundt was deeply in love with Charlotte.¹

Be that as it may, Mundt and Charlotte corresponded frequently from November 7, 1833 to December 26, 1834. Many of the letters concerned literary subjects, and Charlotte criticized Mundt's work. Others dealt with Heinrich's mental and physical suffering, and at times with Charlotte's anguish regarding her place in the world.² Mundt tried to give her advice, but he was not very sympathetic and his letters did not show much understanding of woman. He was convinced that Charlotte's worries would pass away.³ Her last letter to him was portentous. She wrote: "Wie vieles ist Moment im Leben, und wie gut, dasz sich durch alle die Momente doch ein rother Faden hindurchzieht! Vergessen Sie meine Momente und halten Sie sich an den Grundfaden!"⁴

Charlotte's influence on Mundt's ideas regarding the enfranchisement of women was slight. It is unlikely that she suggested Mundt's St. Simonian ideas, for she was indifferent to the movement. His "idealistic feminism" was, however, a legacy from her. Her death, which Mundt interpreted from a St. Simonian viewpoint as resulting from the conflict between spirit and flesh, made a lasting impression on him as well as on all Young Germans. It is extremely doubtful whether one could trace any of Mundt's emancipatory ideas to Charlotte, but she did aid his intellectual development through keen understanding, stimulating recognition, and ironical mockery. Had she lived, he might have risen out of mediocrity, for she was an encouraging, refining influence.⁵

Under the influence of Charlotte's suicide, Mundt compiled one of his two chief works. This was Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal. Mundt felt it a moral duty to write the Denkmal, because he feared people would condemn Charlotte's suicide without knowing the circumstances of her life. He wrote the Denkmal with Heinrich's blessing and at first did not intend to publish it. The book is not, as Butler thinks,⁶ a terrible indictment of Heinrich, but

¹Houben points out that Mundt wrote to Kühne under great stress and later cooled off considerably, after the tension of Charlotte's tragic fate had disappeared (op. cit., p. 396).

²Mundt, Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal (Berlin, 1835), pp. 262 ff.

³Butler, op. cit., p. 340.

⁴Mundt, Denkmal, p. 288.

⁵Proelss, op. cit., p. 514. See also Houben, op. cit., p. 451.

⁶Butler, op. cit., p. 342.

rather a worthy eulogy of Charlotte, emphasizing the struggle between "Diesseits" and "Jenseits" in her nature. She thought the body was a prison for the soul; thus she sacrificed the union of spirit and body, wherein all the joy of life rests.¹ "Daher in solchen Momenten [of inner turmoil] das atemlose Ringen der Seele, die Riegel zu sprengen."² Emancipatory tenets are emphasized when Mundt writes: "Der Frauen Schicksal ist es, und nicht immer zu ihrem Heil, dasz sie statt des Allgemeinen an das Individuelle, statt der Idee an die einzelne Erscheinung, vom Leben gefesselt werden. So wurde Charlotten statt der Poesie, zu der ihr ganzes Wesen als zu seiner Polhöhe fast gewaltsam hinstrebte, ein Poet zugetheilt." And further: "Der Drang zu den Wissenschaften, zu den Künsten, zu den freien Bewegungen des öffentlichen Lebens, wenn ihm zu entsprechen durch die Umstände oder die sociale Gestaltung versagt ist, setzt sich in der Mädchenbrust in die Liebe zu einem Gelehrten, zu einem Künstler, zu einem Helden um."³ The desire for emancipation may have played a part in Charlotte's suicide, for Mundt writes that she worried about the social limitations of woman and often wished she were a man. He asks: What can she accomplish within such limitations?⁴ Charlotte had expressed emancipatory thoughts in her diary: "Die deutschen Frauen sollten eigentlich noch einmal emancipirt werden; es sollte Einer zeigen was sie sind; bricht ein Schmerz über sie herein, dann zeigen sie sich so bedeutend, so achtungswürdig, und im gewöhnlichen Leben machen sie sich öfters selbst so unbedeutend, hängen an den flachsten Interessen."⁵ At the end Mundt sounds the warning words: "Und was sollen wir thun? Wird es uns nicht gemahnen, einen tiefen Blick in unser sociales Leben in unsere verirrtten und unnatürlichen Einrichtungen, in die Zustände unserer Ehen, unserer Liebe, unserer Freundschaft zu werfen?"⁶

The third woman who exerted a noticeable influence on Mundt was Luise Mühlbach. Mundt met Luise in 1838 and married her in 1839. More robust, energetic, and vital than the sensitive Charlotte, she was a healthy influence on his life. His love for her was more sensual than was his feeling for Charlotte, and their marriage was a happy one. She was, however, a detrimental influence on Mundt's literary production. Luise, at first a writer of fantastic and gruesome social novels, and later of historical novels, made her husband's literary style shallow. Mundt began writing historical novels in 1841, and guided Luise into writing

¹Mundt, Denkmal, pp. 3 ff.

²Ibid., p. 313.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 66.

⁵Ibid., p. 81.

⁶Ibid., p. 311.

mediocre, bulky accounts of the lives and deeds of historical figures. So far as having any bearing on Mundt's treatment of woman, Luise appeared too late to cause any changes in Mundt's attitude toward woman, or to give him new or constructive thoughts, had she possessed them. Mundt and Luise did, however, illustrate Enfantin's "social couple," or man and wife working together for the benefit of society. Mundt saw in her a living example of an emancipated woman.¹

By far the strongest of the general influences on Mundt was St. Simonism. From this movement and its subsequent modifications, the literary men of the time obtained many of their ideas concerning the emancipation of women, marriage, and love.

The founder of the St. Simonian sect was Claude Henri, Count of Saint-Simon (1760-1825). His chief work, Le nouveau Christianisme, published in the year of his death, expounded his social, economic, and religious theories. He demanded equality for all, consequently also for women. He made, however, only one utterance on the enfranchisement of woman. This was: "Les femmes seront admises à souscrire."²

After the death of Saint-Simon, Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin was named "père suprême" of the sect in 1829. He formulated a platform demanding the emancipation of woman.³ He also defended the rights of the senses and could see no reason for restraining physical desire. "Emancipation of the flesh" became a slogan. Like the flesh, woman was to become "free" and liberated from the dominance of man.⁴ Man and woman were to work together in the future to abolish industrial, legal, and religious restrictions. No social function was to be performed without woman, since the social individual was the "social couple," man and woman together. Enfantin also fought for a basic reformation of marriage, and condemned immoral marriages, "Scheinehen," in which love was absent. He opposed unfaithfulness in marriage, but believed that one could love several people in successive stages.⁵ In this latter connection, he formed a theory of "mobiles" and "immobiles." The first were steadfast and constant in love. Persons with such natures

¹Luise wrote upwards of 270 novels. many of which enjoyed great popularity throughout Europe.

²Butler, op. cit., p. 7.

³Gerathewohl, op. cit., pp. 9 f.

⁴Margarete Schönfeld, Gutzkows Frauengestalten (Berlin, 1933), p. 57.

⁵Gerathewohl, op. cit., pp. 9 f.

were therefore to form permanent unions. The others, changeable and inconstant, should accordingly effect only temporary unions. For the latter facilities for later separation were needed.¹ Both kinds of marriage were to be equally valid. At the peak of the social order, Enfantin placed a "supreme couple," which should educate the members of the cult both physically and spiritually.² His system, thought Enfantin, would make prostitution unnecessary. Enfantin spent much of his life in a search for a "mère suprême," but never found her.

Saint-Simonism had penetrated Germany quickly; many articles about it appeared in journals and newspapers from 1830 to 1835. The form in which the movement appeared was, for the most part, that given it by Enfantin and his friend, Bazard. When the two disagreed on a moral question, Bazard left the party.³ The St. Simonians concentrated their efforts on Germany. Le Globe contributed to the transplantation of thought, and quickly reproduced every new German idea. Heine, who took part in the meetings in the Salle Taitbout, and Börne communicated the movement to Germany.

In examining Mundt and his ideas regarding woman, one must remember that his interest in woman and her emancipation did not derive solely from St. Simonism. The movement nevertheless formed his ideas on religion, sociology, and philosophy. Just how he came into contact with St. Simonism is uncertain. It is possible that Moritz Veit's treatise, Saint-Simon und der Saint-Simonismus (Leipzig, 1834), introduced the movement to Mundt. After 1836, St. Simonism ceased to act as a creative force on Mundt's mind. He always maintained a critical, independent attitude toward it. This was true, even though Mundt was the only Young German to give a historical account of the movement.⁴ He was convinced that Enfantin's platform, which caused a split in the party, greatly hindered the growth of St. Simonism. He objected to the Egyptian flesh-pots of Enfantin's ideas on marriage, for Mundt and the Young Germans wanted no more than freedom of marriage from churchly sanctions. Instead of actually taking an equal place with man, Mundt believed woman should be a spiritual and moral stimulus to him. He always insisted that her nature remain unchanged.⁵

¹Butler, op. cit., pp. 46 ff.

²Ibid., p. 47.

³Werner Suhge, Saint-Simonismus und junges Deutschland (Berlin, 1935), pp. 24 f.

⁴Cf. Mundt, Geschichte der Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1844).

⁵Ibid., pp. 351 ff.

Marriage should give woman freedom to fulfill the highest meaning of her nature, but woman could not possibly usurp the place of man.¹ According to Mundt, if it had not been for its platform regarding the emancipation of women, St. Simonism might have become the true folk-philosophy of France. He gave an accurate account of Enfantin's plans, but said: "Eine höhere Ansicht der Ehe hatte Bazard vergeblich gegen den wilden und verworrenen Enfantin gelten zu machen gesucht." Bazard believed in marriage, but recommended divorce for an unsuccessful union.²

The two pedagogical and didactic books of Theodor von Hippel, Über die Ehe (1774) and Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber (1792), were of some importance to Mundt. Mundt praises Hippel as a protector of the female sex and thought highly of his views on marriage.³ "Wie geistreich hat Hippel vor Goethe die Ehe aufgefasst und als ein unverletzliches Heiligtum des Lebens verherrlicht."⁴ Mundt asserted that too many people had attempted to ridicule emancipation and called Hippel a sincere pioneer.⁵ Hippel, stimulated by the French Revolution, requested equality and emancipation for women. He condemned the Revolution for failing to define the civil rights of woman. In order to achieve equality for woman, he demanded a reform in feminine education. He wished to educate citizens without regard to sex, since he recognized no difference in the capabilities of man and woman. He demanded admission of women to all trades and positions, and, to show that women were capable of entering the fields of man, he cited examples of outstanding women. Hippel went so far as to favor the participation of women in governmental affairs. Woman, mentally and spiritually distinct from man, should be freed from her restricted level of household life.⁶ He did not attack the institution of marriage, but asked, as Mundt did a generation later, that woman be allowed to choose the man she loves and stand on an equal footing with her husband.⁷ A forerunner of the Romanticists and George Sand, Hippel sought to base marriage on love alone and to create complete equality between the sexes in public

¹Ibid., pp. 357 f.

²Ibid. (1856), p. 243.

³Mundt, Kritische Wälder, p. 225.

⁴Ibid., p. 251.

⁵Mundt, Der Freihafen (1838), III, 210.

⁶Lily Braun, Die Frauenfrage, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Seite (Marburg, 1909), pp. 95 ff.

⁷Suhge, op. cit., p. 132.

life.¹ Mundt, although he did not accept all of Hippel's theories, knew familiarly the works of the eighteenth century reformer. He acknowledged his youthful interest in Hippel, and called himself "Hippels natürlicher Sohn."² Even though Hippel influenced him, he thought Hippel somewhat misunderstood feminine nature in placing woman on an equal basis with man. Mundt here held to his theory that woman's enfranchisement should not clash with the "ideal of womanhood."³

The novels of George Sand influenced Mundt, although he did not fall mentally into the excesses apparent in her theories about woman and marriage.⁴ Her novels which most influenced the Young Germans were Indiana (1831), Valentine (1832), and Lélia (1833). In these novels, especially in Indiana, Sand bitterly attacked marriage. Indiana, which mirrors George Sand's own unhappy marriage with Baron Dudevant, glorifies the misunderstood woman. Although free love is present in this novel, it is rather an attack on marriage than a defense of free love. Valentine, too, is the story of an unhappy marriage, although this time the chief rôle is given to Valentine's lover. Lélia has loved and been disappointed; she can no longer love at all. Governed by her spirit, she cannot yield to her senses. She finds an unhappy end because she cannot combine the age-old opposites, spirit and body. Mundt eagerly read these feminist novels and perceived clearly every social tendency.⁵ In his Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart, he devoted a chapter to George Sand and discussed Indiana and Lélia in detail.⁶ The French authoress was to Mundt the literary figure who best represented the struggle of the individual against the social order. He admired the realism of her novels, and called her the "Dichterin der sozialen Uebel." He carefully analyzed her writings and displayed great interest in her life and unhappy marriage.

Some influence on Mundt is also traceable to Friedrich Schlegel and Schleiermacher. Mundt perceived in the ideas of

¹Subotic, op. cit., p. 10.

²Letter of Mundt to H. Stieglitz, Jan. 13, 1834. Cf. Houben, op. cit., p. 407. Suhge points out Hippel's influence on Mundt's ideas regarding the limitations surrounding woman (op. cit., p. 96).

³Mundt, Kritische Wälder, p. 251.

⁴Subotic, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵J. Dresch calls Mundt the best-informed critic of contemporary literature (Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne [Paris, 1904], p. 307).

⁶Pp. 404-423.

F. Schlegel and Schleiermacher a new view of life, even though he found Lucinde somewhat indefinite. He believed that social reform began in Romanticism, in Lucinde. Mundt did not know, however, whether F. Schlegel was striving for a new conception of marriage or for organized libertinage.¹ He designated Schlegel's harmony between spirit and senses as theoretical, and thought it impossible in real life. He did credit Schlegel with high ideals, in spite of the partial dishonesty he saw in Lucinde. Mundt complimented Schleiermacher for clarifying Lucinde in his Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde.²

Mundt dealt briefly with Johann Jakob Heinse. Mundt discussed the communistic free love of Heinse's Ardinghello, but he doubted whether such polygamy would lead to happiness or success. He did not share Heinse's conviction that woman should participate in public life.³

¹Mundt, Geschichte der Gesellschaft (1856), p. 211.

²Ibid., p. 212.

³Ibid., pp. 212 f.

CHAPTER III

WOMAN IN THE WORKS OF THEODOR MUNDT

There are two periods in the literary development of Mundt. The first, from 1831 when he published Das Duett, to the year 1840, is characterized by his preference for the romantic short story and the novel. His models for his early period are Tieck, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Kleist.¹ Until 1840 he is a typical Young German, dealing for the most part with political and social theories. Thus, we find, during this period, abundant evidence of his interest in the emancipation of woman. Mundt's literary skill reaches its peak in Madonna and Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal. The second and last period, from 1841, when he wrote Thomas Müntzer, until his death in 1861, is marked by a growing interest in literary criticism and the historical novel. In his second stage, Mundt's interest in social problems increases. His travels in foreign lands open his eyes to such problems as prostitution and poverty. To sum up: Until 1840, Mundt deals with the theoretical problems touching woman; after that date he becomes aware of the practical difficulties affecting the position of woman in society.

In his early stories, Mundt uses hackneyed and stereotyped expressions in referring to women and love. He is unable to describe love in a convincing way: "Nie hat er es versucht, das heimliche Entstehen und allmähliche Wachsen der Liebe zu malen. . . ." ² Either his love affairs produced no vivid or lasting impression on him, or he was unable to depict human emotion convincingly. I am inclined to accept the latter explanation, for, with the possible exceptions of Madonna and the Denkmal, one is struck by the sameness of his descriptions. Madonna is the most realistic and true to life of all his writings, and, as Houben points out, probably represents a love affair of the summer of 1834, about which we are very imperfectly informed.³ Mundt's single successful characterization of a feminine figure is in the Denkmal, where he describes Charlotte with sympathy and understanding.⁴

¹Draeger, op. cit., pp. 5 f.

²Ibid.

³Houben, op. cit., p. 138.

⁴Rudolph von Gottschall gives the following description of Mundt's style: "Der Stil Mundt's besitzt einen auffallenden Mangel an Prägnanz bei einer grossen Elastizität und Dehnbarkeit und

Mundt's first novel was Das Duett (1831), a romantic story written under the influence of Tieck's Musikalische Leiden und Freuden (1824).¹ Both Tieck and Mundt describe the efforts of a young man to win a celebrated songstress. We meet here some of Mundt's ideas on marriage and woman.² The importance of harmonious marriage is stressed, and the duet, the necessity of one voice augmenting and harmonizing with another, is a symbol for marriage.³ Thus, Mundt's ideas regarding equality, harmony, and supplementing of one by another in marriage, are already present in 1831. According to Suhge, Mundt defends free love in Das Duett, and sees in it an equivalent of marriage.⁴ Mundt does not, however, defend free love in this novel, for, in spite of Suhge's contention, there is no evidence that the friendship between Adelaide, the heroine, and Eduard, is even remotely related to free love. Their relationship before marriage is perfectly conventional. Adelaide is an emancipated woman, freed from home and family by her decision to go on the stage. Together, she and her husband form the duet, or harmonious marriage. The evil effect of too much parental control is seen when Fanchon, Adelaide's sister, goes to ruin because her shallow mother insists on her liaison with an English impostor. A further echo of emancipatory thoughts of the age is Mundt's struggle to prove that love awakened by sympathy should have precedence over any other kind. Das Duett shows no St. Simonian tendencies.

In the short story, Madelon oder die Romantiker in Paris (1832), Mundt is still unaware of St. Simonism. This story illustrates the difference between Rosalie's "classical," spiritual

einer imponierenden Wortfülle. Mundt hat über alles eine Menge von Gedanken; aber es fehlt meistens der Gedanke, der den Nagel auf den Kopf trifft, der die Sache massgebend bezeichnet. Sein Denken ist ernst, wohlmeinend, vielseitig, aber durch Reflexion abgeschwächt. Man musz die Mundt'schen Perioden genießen wie Maccaroni; es gehört Kunst dazu; denn sonst erstickt man an diesen langgedehnten, in einander verschlungenen Gedanken" (Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts [7th ed.; Breslau, 1901], II, 136 f.).

¹Draeger, op. cit., p. 14.

²This fact has not been recognized. Madonna (1835) has long been considered the starting point for Mundt's ideas on marriage and woman. His gradual development has been overlooked.

³Mundt, Das Duett, pp. 100 f.

⁴Suhge, op. cit., p. 134.

love, and Madelon's "romantic," sensuous love.¹ Madelon exemplifies the power of free love, for Narcisz, the hero, cannot bind himself to a lasting union with Rosalie. Madelon and Narcisz end unhappily because they have nothing to build on. Narcisz is torn between his wish to settle down and his desire for romance. Rosalie's spiritual, "classical" love remains alive, and death is the victor over sensuous, "romantic" love. This triumph of spiritual love is the first expression of Mundt's later theories that the spiritual element should be uppermost in marriage. Madelon, who has had numerous affairs and definitely favors free love, is an emancipated woman. It is significant, however, that her life ends in failure. Although Mundt champions emancipation, he insists that it come within the limits of marriage. Narcisz's jealousy and the realization that his love for Madelon cannot give him happiness cause him to kill her. Deep in his heart, he knows that his lasting love belongs to Rosalie. Although the July Revolution forms the background of the story, Mundt has little to say about political events.

Der Bibeldieb (1833) advocates emancipation of woman and points out the need for harmony between lovers or between husband and wife. The pietistic heroine, Wilhelmine, stands in need of emancipation. She is intellectually below her fiancée, Richard, and is too prudish to face the problems and realities of life. Mundt is evidently seeking to show that love should be neither too serious nor too frivolous, but a mixture of both elements. In Pastor Halden, the author shows us a harmonious figure. Formerly a frivolous person, Halden learns, during a prison sentence, that the most harmonious existence must combine humor and gravity.

Der Basilisk (1833) contains few ideas regarding the emancipation of woman. This fantastically absurd story based on Lavater's theories of physiognomy shows that misfortune results from an unhappy marriage. Mathilde, the heroine, marries Count Arno at her father's wish. Valerian, the father, lacks the intuition which protects women. Thus, he is unable to see the evil beneath the Count's handsome appearance, and forces his daughter into marriage. Valerian is governed entirely by the idea that inward evil is reflected in a person's face, while Mathilde penetrates the Count's outward perfection.

¹Karl Nolle notes a similarity to Laube: "An die Erörterungen über 'klassische' und 'romantische' Liebe in Mundts Novelle 'Madelon' findet sich ein Anklang in Laubes Geistreichelei über 'moderne, objektive' Liebe" (Heinrich Laube als sozialer und politischer Schriftsteller, Diss. [Münster, 1914], p. 35).

"Das Urtheil der Frauen hat Schmetterlings-fühlhörner, die sie tändelnd ansetzen an die Gegenstände, die sie begreifen wollen, aber sie schmecken Alles mit einer scharfen Zunge. Das Ahnungsvermögen, das in den Kindern so stark ist, wird in den Frauen zu einer fast wunderbaren Weissagekraft. Diese Kraft hat die Natur dem schwachen Geschlecht zu seinem Schutz gegeben, weil die Waffen der Gewalt nicht für die Frauen sind."¹

Except for this statement and one other, when Erwin, Mathilde's son, utters the theory that only love makes one free and only he who is free, can really love, there is little indication of any serious emancipatory tendency on the author's part. Mundt's main wish is to demonstrate the effect of character on physiognomy, but he also shows the power women possess in intuition, which is their weapon against the stronger sex.

Clear references to the emancipation of woman appear, in spite of Ernst Bergmann's statement to the contrary,² in Moderne Lebenswirren (1834). This book, which has mainly political content, consists of letters to a woman, Esperance. It describes the successive conversions of the correspondent, Salzschreiber, to such political trends of the day as Liberalism, Absolutism, and "Juste-Milieu." The motivating force in the conversions is the "Geist des politischen Widerspruchs." The letters, witty and satirical, reveal some ability on Mundt's part, and contain much political and social criticism.

Mundt, in Moderne Lebenswirren, flirted with the political emancipation of women. This youthful demand reflects the influence of Hippel. After several requests for woman's political emancipation, Mundt turned against it and freed himself at the same time from Hippel. A satirical humorous sketch in Moderne Lebenswirren, "Die Frauen sollten König sein," suggests that women ought to be rulers, since history has shown that they make good sovereigns. Mundt asks: "Sie haben die meisten Talente für den Haushalt, warum nicht auch für den Staatshaushalt?"³ Other emancipatory phases appear in Moderne Lebenswirren, when Esperance says: "ich bin auch der Meinung, dass in einer wahren Verfassung auch die Frauen und deren Interessen repräsentirt werden müssen. Sollen

¹Mundt, Der Basilisk, pp. 52 f.

²Ernst Bergmann thinks Mundt first touched the topic of emancipation for woman in Madonna (Die ethischen Probleme in den Jugendschriften der Jungdeutschen, Diss. [Leipzig, 1906], p. 103). Like several others, he bases his discussion of Mundt on Madonna, with one brief mention of Moderne Lebenswirren.

³Mundt, Moderne Lebenswirren (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 75 f.

wir nicht auch unsere Wahlrechte bekommen? So gut wie die Juden, müssen auch die Frauen emancipiert werden." How can a woman display patriotism when she is confined to the household?¹ "Soll eine gebildete Frau nicht mindestens ebenso viel Recht haben, als jeder ungebildete Ladendiener?"² Women have no interest in public affairs, because they have no public rights, no position in the state.³ They are not even permitted to vote. Such thoughts betray the influence of Hippel rather than of St. Simonism. And all the more so, since Mundt had written on Hippel only a short time before.⁴ Esperance summarizes the position of women:

"Wir sind einmal so wunderbar in das Leben hineingestellt, dasz wir keine andere Aufgabe zu haben scheinen, als die richtige Mitte zu halten. Wir Frauen sind geborene Justemilieu-politik, und solange unsere Emancipation, die noch immer in keiner Deutschen Kammer beantragt worden, noch nicht erfolgt ist, werden wir uns mit diesem System als der einzig nachge-lassenen Taktik unseres Geschlechts zu behelfen suchen müssen."⁵

Madonna (1835) contains many thoughts about woman and her position. Mundt declares his primary reason for writing this novel is to achieve a harmony between spirit and flesh, in "einer geistdurchdrungenen Weltlichkeit und in einer weltdurchdrungenen Geistigkeit."⁶ He desires a rehabilitation of the flesh in a unity of flesh and spirit; such a unity he considers the most harmonious state of existence. Maria, the heroine, is converted to Protestantism at the end of the story, for she wants more of a place for the flesh and the world in her life, and recognizes the Protestant religion as better uniting spirit and flesh. Harmony cannot be attained in the Catholic church, which places too much weight on the spirit and neglects the flesh. Mundt writes: "Alles wird weltlich in unserer Zeit und musz es werden selbst die Religion. Denn es kann nichts Heiligeres mehr geben, als das Weltliche, nichts Geistlicheres, als das Weltliche."⁷ God meant the world to be a unity of flesh and spirit: "Er kam in die Welt, und die Welt hat ihn nicht begriffen. Er trat in das Fleisch, und muszte sterben." In spite of Christ's presence on earth, the spirit and the flesh remain as far apart as ever, and the flesh has not received its rights.⁸ "Ja, ich fluche der Trennung von Geist und

¹Ibid., p. 87.

²Ibid., p. 88.

³Ibid., p. 87.

⁴Cf. supra, p. 17.

⁵Mundt, Moderne Lebenswirren, p. 259.

⁶Mundt, Der Freihafen (1840), IV, 259.

⁷Mundt, Madonna (Leipzig, 1835), pp. 141 f.

⁸Ibid., p. 387.

Leib, von Diesseits und Jenseits, denn ich fühle mich ein Eines!"¹ Christianity, remarks Mundt, caused the division. Although Christianity brought God to the world, the ascetic life is only a caricature. Mundt does not want all the emphasis to fall on the flesh, but desires rather an equal union of both elements.² Maria is condemned because she desired freedom, because she wanted to become a spiritual-worldly "Weltheilige," just as the book, Madonna, was condemned by contemporaries as a hymn to the senses.

Mundt shows how childhood limitations plant in Maria the wish to free herself from restrictions. Her limited existence, writes Mundt, was "ein Leben ohne Sterne, ohne Duft, ohne Grün, ohne Laub, ohne Flusz in der Nähe, ohne Abendgold in der Ferne. . . Und gerade weibliche Naturen sind es am häufigsten welche man an ein solches Leben ohne Sterne verbannt findet, sie, denen sonst die Seele dazu gegeben ist, immer einen Himmel in sich frei zu haben." Duty binds women to boredom, to older people, to the household. They must resign themselves to an uneventful life. As a result, some die inwardly, and others turn to religion.³ Maria finally frees herself from her early restrictions, and because she worships the joys of life with too much enthusiasm, she causes a tragedy. She returns to an unhappy life of limitations with her father, and after his death, she seeks true emancipation in a union of freedom and restriction, spirit and flesh, in the Protestant church.

The longest reference in Madonna to the problems of woman is found in an account of the Bohemian "War of Women" of the eighth century.⁴ This Mundt calls history's boldest effort to emancipate women. Treated earlier by Brentano in Die Gründung Prags (1815), this legend also furnished the material for Grillparzer's drama, Libussa (1847). Brentano's drama, romantically interlacing many motifs, deals with the rule of Libussa, the war between men and women, and the struggle between paganism and Christianity. Brentano obtained his material from a tale by Musäus, and emphasized the fabulous elements of the legend, rather than emancipatory ideas. Grillparzer's Libussa, a tragedy in contrast to the happier drama of Brentano, depicts the tragic struggle of a noble soul to fit itself into a harmful environment. Here we see the contrast

¹Ibid., p. 395.

²Ibid., p. 396.

³Ibid., pp. 96 ff.

⁴The oldest account of Libussa (d. 735), queen of the Czechs, is found in the Latin Chronicle of Dean Cosmas (d. 1125), the father of Bohemian history.

between the active life, as exemplified in Primislaus, and the passive life, whose exponent is Libussa. Through her marriage with Primislaus, Libussa loses her clairvoyancy and spiritual gifts and dies: the "Menschlich-Bewusstes" triumphs over the "Göttlich-Naives." Mundt expresses surprise that his predecessors have not attempted to employ the legend in the service of emancipation. Mundt, stimulated by Karl Egon Ebert's epic, Wlasta (1829), calls his sketch "Bohemiconymphomachia."¹ He describes the death of Libussa, and the outbreak of the women against the men when Libussa's husband, Przemysl, comes to power and forces limitations on the women. Two of the female leaders demand from Przemysl freedom for their sex, but it is refused. In a war against the men, the women are unsuccessful in gaining freedom and are forced into marriage; their efforts to emancipate themselves completely, fail. Particularly interesting to us is a prophecy of the future of women made by Libussa's successor, Wlasta. She prophesies that the worship of women during the time of the Court Epic and Minesong will not free her, nor will the praying of nuns, nor will Joan of Arc.² She sees Hippel and exclaims that she must love him, for he will demand reformation of marriage and civil rights for women. "Er ist der erste unter allen Männern, in dem der grosze Gedanke Libussas wieder hervortaucht, denn kein Gedanke geht im Meer der Zeiten verloren."³ She sees the St. Simonians, who will theorize about the "free woman" and the "social couple." Enfantin's ideas of marriage, thinks Mundt, are not the answer to woman's problems. Wlasta is hopeless: "Und so entsteht eine grosze Verwirrung über die neue Lehre, in der doch Wahrheiten ruhen, an denen ich alle Jahrhunderte arbeiten gesehen."⁴ Woman must be free; freedom is not for man only. The free woman will first emerge in marriage. Wlasta demands suffrage and independence for woman:

"Vor allen Dingen müssen wir Frauen Wahlrechte bekommen. Von diesen Wahlrechten nur jetzt so weit, dasz wir uns die Männer selbst wählen dürfen. Denn die Frau musz zuerst durch den selbstständigen Willen frei werden. Ohne den Willen gibt es keine Freiheit, und ohne die Freiheit keine Liebe, und ohne die Liebe kein Glück."⁵

Thus, Mundt demands a certain participation of women in public life. Probably he does not mean it to be more than active interest in public affairs.

The "War of Women" teaches the lesson that the art of living for women lies in a certain degree of limitation. This

¹Madonna, pp. 302-338.

²Ibid., pp. 314 ff.

³Ibid., p. 319.

⁴Ibid., p. 321.

⁵Ibid., p. 324.

limitation need not restrict the intellect or the spirit. Madonna seeks emancipation of her spirit, flesh, and intellect, but ends in a restricted existence with her father. One remains unconvinced, however, that she is happier than she was in her freedom. It is evident, from the "War of Women," that Mundt did not desire absolute equality for women, for in Madonna they find their destination in marriage and fail utterly to win their complete independence. Woman must be morally, spiritually, and intellectually free in a union based on love and equality. Mundt did not intend to satirize the true enfranchisement of woman in Madonna, as some critics believe; the ideas on woman in Madonna are in accord with his later utterances on the subject of emancipation.¹

In Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal, more ideas on woman appear. This book describes the life and death of the unfortunate woman whose suicide so affected her contemporaries. Indeed, Charlotte's death not only stimulated Mundt to write the Denkmal, but also inspired Gutzkow to produce Wally die Zweiflerin (1835). In the Denkmal, Mundt is at his best, for his fine delineation of Charlotte stands alone among his characterizations of women.² He also makes the book a vehicle for some of his ideas on the emancipation of woman.

According to Mundt, woman substitutes love of the individual for love of the general. Woman loves the scientist, the learned-man, the hero, rather than science, learning, or heroism.³ Important for Mundt's views is the following: ". . . der hochbegabteste Frauengeist beugt seine originale Kraft am Ende gern in irgend ein secundaires Verhältnisz hinab, und der Trieb demüthigen Dienens bei aller Lust des Herrschens . . . gewährt ihnen jene traulich waltende Befriedigung, in der sie sich meistentheils mit der socialen Begränztheit ihres Berufs versöhnen."⁴ Still further

¹Subotic believes the "War of Women" was meant as a satire on the emancipation of woman. He fails to see that it agrees with Mundt's earlier and later ideas. Subotic, op. cit., pp. 48 f.

²Royen says the following about Mundt's characterization of Charlotte: "Hervorgehoben werden musz . . . die graziöse Art, mit der Mundt es verstanden hat, den Charakter Charlottens zu zeichnen. Er findet so herrliche Worte der Achtung, Ehrfurcht und Liebe für Charlotte nicht nur, sondern für die Frau überhaupt, wie sie keiner von den Jungdeutschen geschrieben, und auch er selbst nicht in seinen übrigen Werken gebraucht hat" (op. cit., p. 117).

³Mundt, Denkmal, p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 17.

on we meet the wish for emancipation in Charlotte's diary.¹ In speaking about Charlotte's worries regarding the social limitations surrounding woman, Mundt finds them difficult to assuage. History shows how woman has been limited and unrecognized. It is no wonder women fall into despair. What is there for them to do? Mundt thinks St. Simonism will not help women much: "was der St. Simonismus . . . hier angeboten hat, um der socialen Verhältnisse Emancipation zu vollbringen, möchte am allerwenigsten von den Frauen selbst annehmbar gefunden sein."²

Desirées Lebensstufen (1837)³ is a short story of an actress who is unhappy both in active life and in the nunnery to which she retires in search of contentment. Here she longs for her old lover, who finally appears and marries her. Through marriage, she finds a unity of flesh and spirit, or world and spirit, for she is happy in life and, by means of this happiness becomes spiritually strong. Mundt's praise of marriage as a harmonious, equalizing institution again appears in this tale, as well as his familiar thesis about the benefits to be derived from a unity of flesh and spirit.

The emancipatory views of Mundt left very clear marks on his short story, Antoniens Buszfahrten (1837).⁴ The essence of this story, wherein a girl comes to grief because she has freed herself from restrictions, is expressed in the following statement:

"Das Weib darf keine Abenteuer erleben, auf der schmalen Linie der Einfachheit steht ihr Glück, wenn sie es findet. Wird sie hineingerissen in ein brausendes Element wechselnder Ereignisse, gaukelnder Romantik, so bleibt sie dessen nicht mehr mächtig, was mit ihr geschieht, und die stürmischen Tage überfluthen ihr taumelndes Haupt."⁵

We meet again Mundt's theory that women can find true happiness only within certain restrictions. Antonie, unhappy in her childhood, desires more freedom and goes in search of it. She oversteps the bounds set for women, and difficulties keep appearing when happiness seems within her grasp. She tries free love, but it is unsuccessful, for her lover leaves her. Although she has really done nothing evil, chance makes it appear that she is an evil woman. "Es gibt verlorene und überall zurückgewiesene Naturen,

¹Cf. supra, p. 14.

²Mundt, Denkmal, pp. 66 f.

³Mundt, Dioskuren für Kunst und Wissenschaft (Berlin, 1837), pp. 371-392.

⁴Cf. Charaktere und Situationen (Wismar und Leipzig, 1837).

⁵Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, I, 121.

die zu ihrem Miszgeschick immer noch das fügen, dasz sie in den Augen des gewöhnlichen Beobachters sogar als zweideutig erscheinen müssen."¹ Antonie solves her problems in the end, for she realizes that her emancipation and freedom lie in the harmonious marriage which Constantin, her fiancée, offers her.

In Mundt's novel, Mutter und Tochter (1838),² his main object was to show in the fashionable swindler, Cimaletti, the falsehood of the age.³ The unhappy marriage of Hippolyta and Cimaletti lacks the necessary basis of love and harmony, and consequently is doomed to failure. Ada, the step-daughter of Cimaletti, has much in common with the St. Simonian "free woman." A contemporary critic, Hermann Marggraff, sees in Ada the "free woman," because she breaks over the traces of her childish shyness and goes on a trip with Cimaletti, who falls in love with her.⁴ This trip, however, is hardly a vindication of free love, for Ada does not love Cimaletti, and only goes with him to get away from annoying conditions at home. During the trip she conducts herself virtuously. "Dieses zuchtlose abenteuerliche Mädchen ist bei alledem, wie Mundt haben will, eine edle Person, ein Frauenzimmer-Muster."⁵ In the end, when her friend, Falk, asks her to marry him, she refuses, for she realizes that this marriage would be unsuccessful because she does not love him.

The prohibition of Mundt's writings in 1835 restricted him to observations on industrialism and feminism. Since he was not so radical a reformer as Gutzkow and Laube, he really had nothing to recant.⁶ He now begins to formulate his views concerning marriage. He thinks the present time has come to the aid of woman

¹Ibid., p. 103.

²Cf. Der Delphin, Ein Almanach von Th. Mundt (Altona, 1838).

³Cf. Der Delphin, pp. 217 f.: "Dieser poetische Kerl repräsentirt uns jenen Culminationspunkt der Cultur, auf dem sich die glänzendste Höhe des Bewusstseins mit der innerlichen Verlorenheit vereinigt, fast naiv, denn eine gewisse Heiterkeit, Frische, und ritterliche Festigkeit . . . liegt als Charakterfirnisz obenauf, und überdeckt wie mit unschuldigen Blumen den Schlamm des Verbrechens . . . Die Lüge in diesen Naturen wird ihnen jedoch am Ende selbst zum Fatum, das sie umstrickt und dem sie nicht mehr entrinnen!"

⁴Hermann Marggraff, Deutschlands jüngste Literatur- und Cultur-epoche (Leipzig, 1839), p. 324.

⁵Marggraff, op. cit., p. 325.

⁶Royen, op. cit., p. 135.

and bitterly criticizes marriages in which woman performs sexual functions without spiritual or intellectual equality. He calls such unions distinctly immoral, for woman is unduly subordinated to man.¹ Sometimes he favors freer customs, as in a reference to the island of Heligoland, where an engaged couple expects to enjoy the privileges of marriage. Mundt believes this natural state to be better than the "erkünstelte Reinheit der Sitten" on the continent.² In a letter to Luise of June 1, 1839, Mundt expresses disregard and scorn for convention. He writes the following concerning marriage: "Vielleicht schiltst Du mich, wenn ich Dir sage, dasz ich im Stande bin, dergleichen mehr wie zufällig und en passant abzumachen."³ Yet he lauds faithfulness in marriage and scorns unions based on deceit and lack of faith.⁴ He condemns the immorality of concubinages (wilde Ehen) in Hamburg. Mundt opposes the interference of the church, particularly of the Catholic church, in marriage, for he believes it weakens the structure of marriage and leads to immorality. He regrets the fact that marriage destroys individuality, and favors divorce.⁵ Freedom can be morally good only in the family, for the latter is the basis for the state and society.⁶ To Mundt the Germans represent best the traditions of the family, marriage, and the home.⁷ "Die Gesellschaft findet . . . in der Familie nicht nur den Ausgangspunct ihrer individuellen Entwicklung, sondern sie hat auch darin eine That aufzuweisen, durch welche für die Widersprüche und Probleme, die den übrigen socialen Körper hinunderziehen und beunruhigen, die wahre Richtung, in der sie zu lösen sind, geboten zu werden scheint."⁸

In his later writings, Mundt never hints at political emancipation for woman, as he had done in Moderne Lebenswirren, but only emancipation in marriage. He offers the following relative to woman's participation in state affairs: "Dies ist die ideale Natur der Frau, dasz sie in ihrem eigensten Wesen schon eine reine Sphäre der Freiheit und Sittlichkeit darstellt, und

¹Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, II, 255 ff.

²Ibid., p. 16.

³Thea Ebersberger, Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Leben Luise Mühlbachs (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 287 f.

⁴Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, I, 60 ff.

⁵Mundt, Allgemeine Literaturgeschichte (Berlin, 1848), III, 56.

⁶Mundt, Katechismus der Politik (Berlin, 1848), pp. 4 f.

⁷Mundt, Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart (1853), p. 39.

⁸Mundt, Geschichte der Gesellschaft (1856), pp. 20 f.

dies wird der Antheil der wahren Frau am Staats- und Volkerleben sein, dasz sie durch diese ihre ideale Natur den Mann zwingen soll . . . sich und die Gesellschaft frei zu machen."¹ Mundt sees many a pitfall in contemporary ideas on the emancipation of woman.² The layman and the common herd do not understand its true meaning. Mundt hastens to add that emancipation has nothing to do with free love and other bastard growths of St. Simonism. He desires only the "höhere Anerkennung des weiblichen Lebens in seiner eigenen Gränze."³ Others are pressing radical, foolish demands too far, he thinks. He levels vitriolic criticism at authors, like Heine and Menzel, for their insults to womanhood.⁴ To accusations that he is radical and foolish in his demands,⁵ he replies that he has never done more than appeal for "das höhere geistige Bildungsleben der Frauen."⁶ Mundt was honest in saying this, for Hermann Marggraff's discussions with him show that he was not so radical as some of his contemporaries thought. Incidentally, Marggraff also recommended emancipation of women, but only within marriage and the family.⁷

¹Ibid., p. 246.

²Ibid., p. 247.

³Mundt, Der Freihafen (1838), III, 210.

⁴Ibid., pp. 210 ff.

⁵Cf. Gutzkow, Skizzenbuch (Cassel und Leipzig, 1839), pp. 319-335. Gutzkow, in his romantic satire, Die literarischen Elfen attacks Mundt and the current literature of woman's emancipation. Speculantia, daughter of one of the spirits of the Harz, takes a keen interest in Young Germany. Echoing the thoughts of Gutzkow, she thinks Mundt lacks historical understanding, criticizes his theorizing manner, his emancipation of woman, and his use of the name of George Sand. According to Speculantia, women do not need emancipation as much as they need love and consideration. She says to Mundt: "Der traurige Irrthum, in dem Sie sich befinden, ist der, dasz der tendenziöse Zweck Ihrer Poesieen über deren Werth bei den Lesern entscheiden solle, während dies doch immer nur der rein poetische Zweck und Werth kann. Geben Sie das Bedenkliche, aber geben Sie's mit poetischem Gemüth! Geben Sie das sich gegen unsre Sitte Auflehrende, aber geben Sie's als einen reizend schönen Organismus, der sich in Ihrem Dichtergemüth gestaltet hat; dann haben Sie nicht nöthig, auch erst die Umwälzung unsrer Sitten vollbracht zu wünschen, ehe Sie gewisz seyn können, für einen Dichter gehalten zu werden."

⁶Mundt, Der Freihafen (1840), IV, 273.

⁷Marggraff, op. cit., pp. 312 ff.

In 1841, Mundt again attacks those who do not understand emancipation, but believes, nevertheless, that people are approaching a more sensible examination of the problems touching woman. Although Mundt acknowledges his defense of emancipation, he denies having indulged in the excesses of Tieck, and asserts that none can prove "dasz wir das Ideal der Weiblichkeit jemals von seiner sittlichen Basis hinweggerückt hätten."¹ He takes pride in having fought for this ideal and adds: "Diese Bestrebungen hängen überhaupt mit den Idealen zusammen, welche die moderne Gesellschaft zur Erreichung eines vollkommensten Zustandes angestrebt hat, und haben in diesem allgemeinen Emancipationsversuch, zu dem der Menschheit gerade durch das Christenthum ein neuer Stachel nach Vollkommenheit geworden, ihre Wurzel."² The position of woman must change as society changes, but the innate nature of woman dare not be modified, no matter what place she occupies in society. She must have recognition in society and marriage, but if defenders of emancipation want a place for woman in political life, as Hippel did, woman will avenge the insult. Mundt believes woman has a very definite, rather limited place. She must emancipate herself to moral freedom through a harmonious marriage in which she must receive full intellectual and spiritual recognition. This is the only "free marriage" Mundt can allow. On such a basis of liberty, social evils would disappear and such opposites as spirit and body, morality and sensuality, would reach a harmony. Marriage can be a success only if it possesses absolute inner freedom. The farther away it is from a purely physical basis, the more successful it will be. Mundt commends Tieck's Vittoria Accorombona for at least one feature. It fully expresses the degradation woman has had to suffer because of man's wickedness. He cannot agree with Tieck, however, that free love is the answer.³

Interest in Anabaptism led Mundt to his first historical novel, Thomas Müntzer (1841), which marks the beginning of the second period in his development. This novel relates the story of Thomas Müntzer, the Anabaptist leader and founder of communistic societies in Mühlhausen, Allstedt, and Frankenhausen. Müntzer wanted to free the peasants from the taxes and oppression of the nobility. At Frankenhausen he led a revolt against the nobility and met his death at the hands of Philipp of Hesse. Probably St. Simonism led Mundt to Anabaptism and Thomas Müntzer, for Enfantin's theories of marriage and the "rehabilitation of the

¹Mundt, Der Freihafen (1841), I, 201.

²Ibid., p. 202.

³Ibid., pp. 201 f.

flesh" remind one strikingly of the teachings and excesses of the Anabaptists. In the discussion of the Anabaptists, Mundt condemned polygamy, which he thought destroyed individuality and the feeling of honor among women. In Münster, where a group formed in 1534, the results were morally appalling.¹ "Es zeigt sich an allen diesen Gräueln der Vielweiberei, der Unsitte und der fanatischen Mordlust, wie sie zu Münster geschahen, dass die materielle Gleichheit des Eigenthums zuletzt auch dahin führt, die Person selbst als eine blosze Sache zu behandeln, wie denn die Frau, in welcher die rein menschliche Persönlichkeit ihr eigentliches Blumenleben ausgesponnen hat, durch die Polygamie, der sich aller Communismus am Ende zuneigen wird, gerade als ein unpersönliches Ding, als ein Eigenthum schlechthin, gesetzt wird. Die Vielweiberei ist die Leibeigenschaft der Frau, sowie die materielle Gleichheit des Eigenthums die Leibeigenschaft des Besitzes wird."²

Although Anabaptism is of little importance to the plot, Mundt deals with the sect again in his next short story, Carmela oder die Wiedertaufe (1844). This story depicts the superficial, dilettante society in Berlin, and criticizes it. In the person of Hortensia, leader of a Berlin salon, Mundt shows us a typical society woman. She is clever and witty, but does not possess much character or discernment. She is an emancipated woman and, by falling in love with a criminal, whose faults she does not see, she comes to an unhappy end. After her escape from her cruel father, Carmela, the heroine, experiences one misfortune after another, until she finally obtains a grip on life by marrying her protector, Sylvius. As in Antonien's Buszfahrten, Mundt again demonstrates that a woman cannot expect to reach happiness and harmony if she attempts to face life alone. Mundt pictures the women of the salons of Berlin as shallow, with neither understanding nor sympathy.

The novel, Mendoza, der Vater der Schelme (1847), is mainly historical, and contains few of Mundt's theories concerning woman. Although the political struggles of Charles V, head of the Holy Roman Empire, are foremost in importance, much attention is given the two heroines, Dolores, the companion of Ignatius Loyola, and Teresa Colonna, who plays a political part. Both are emancipated in the sense that both take a vital interest and an active part in the affairs of the state. Dolores first lives for religion, but after her love for Mendoza becomes a disappointment, dedicates her life to adventure. She comes to a sad end. Teresa, who

¹Mundt, Geschichte der Gesellschaft (1856), pp. 115 ff.

²Ibid., p. 116.

admires Mendoza without loving him, has one absorbing passion-- liberty. When she realizes that her ideal cannot be achieved, she loses all desire to live and dies of a broken heart. Mundt has no wish to make Dolores and Teresa instruments for his theories, as he does with the women of his earlier novels and short stories. The chief interest is in the historical background. Desire for the liberty of the people, hate of Jesuitism (as always with Mundt, child of the Protestant North), and the exposition of Macchiavellian political theories permeate the novel.

Socialism forms the kernel of Die Matadore (1850). The scene is, for the most part, in Paris, where a group of Germans have come to fight for the cause of the people. After a series of adventures, during which most of the participants are banished from Paris, Leonore, daughter of an aristocratic couple, marries the young hero, Roman von Roth. The newly-married couple decides to go to America and found a new socialistic colony in unspoiled surroundings.

The last story to illustrate even remotely Mundt's thoughts on woman is Ein französisches Landschloß (1855). The heroine, Manuela Schey, is a weak example of an emancipated woman. She is, if not a "free woman," at least very active and independent. Her father deserts her when she is yet a child, and she is forced to meet the hardships of life alone. She spends the major part of her life in a search for her father, who has become a criminal and whose scorn of the law has been aggravated by unhealthy prison conditions. Manuela again exemplifies Mundt's premise that, if a woman attempts to enter active life on an equal plane with man, she cannot protect herself and will be drawn into unhappiness. It is too late for her to save herself by marriage, as did the heroine of Antoniens Buszfahrten. Manuela can only accept the alternative of death, which her father shares with her.

The five remaining novels of Mundt are all historical. They are Krim Girai (1855), Cagliostro in Petersburg (1858), Graf Mirabeau (1858), Robespierre (1859), and Czar Paul (1861). These mediocre novels, although they give fairly accurate pictures of the eras they describe, contain nothing relative to the enfranchisement of woman.

We now turn to Mundt's observation and reporting, during his travels, of the rôle of woman in various European lands. Regarding his descriptions of social phenomena, Hanna Quadfasel gives a fine judgment: "Seine Schilderungen sozialer Erscheinungen wie des französischen Dirnen- und Grisettentums in den 'Spaziergängen und Weltfahrten' zeigen eine fast wollüstig sich in diese sozialen Krankheitsphänomene einbohrende Phantasie, deren keimhafte Entfaltung schon in seinen Analysen kranker Seelen, wie Hippel,

Leszmann, Charlotte Stieglitz, nachgewiesen worden ist."¹

Mundt's most absorbing social interest during his travels is prostitution and the resulting evils. In this connection he contrasts the bold, immoral street-life of Hamburg with the greater outward decency in Vienna.² His discussion of London deals in part with the Magdalena Hospital for prostitutes. This hospital, he writes, is a haven for all those who have an inner desire for salvation. The prostitutes in London are for the most part fashionably clothed. Some are witty and have a certain amount of culture. Prostitution, adds Mundt, results from the English woman's love for independence. The English prostitutes sometimes come from the best families. Mundt thinks the hospital a success, because the English street-women are not the dregs of humanity as they are in Germany and France. Perhaps the power of religious orthodoxy is a further reason for the success of such an institution.³ Mundt considers the Magdalena Hospital better than one in Hamburg, which was too small, and a Parisian one, to which the girls were brought by force.

To the Parisian "grisette," or shop-girl who becomes a mistress, Mundt devotes many pages of Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten (1838). He defends her class, and he maintains that the "grisettes" are more virtuous than the hypocritical demi-vierge and are true to their men as well as good and efficient house-keepers and companions. They are entertaining and good-natured, and they strive to keep from falling to the level of prostitution.⁴ He attributes the comparatively low rate of prostitution in Paris to the numerous liaisons between men and women. Such affairs, in his opinion, show great immorality, however, because they affect the nobler parts of society. It would be better to confine prostitution to a low class of people. He makes a distinction between the "grisette" and the "fille entretenue," a kept woman who is already a prostitute and occupies a lower moral level.⁵ In this discussion of the Parisian students and their "grisettes," Mundt calls French student-life more moral than German with its carousing and drinking.⁶ A chief reason for prostitution among the young women of the working classes in France is poverty.⁷ Mundt believes the situation worse under the monarchy than under the republic: "Das Königthum

¹Quadfasel, op. cit., p. 75.

²Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, I, 67.

³Mundt, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten (Altona, 1838), I, 146 ff.

⁴Ibid., pp. 260 ff.

⁵Ibid., pp. 269 f.

⁶Ibid., p. 211.

⁷Ibid., pp. 305 ff.

trieb die Prostitution auf die Strasse, die Republik hat sie wahrscheinlich mehr in die Häuser und in die Familien aufgenommen."¹

In Paris und Louis Napoleon (1858), Mundt continues his discussion of prostitution. He repeats that prostitution and the state of the family are much worse under Napoleon III than under Louis Philippe. As an antidote, he would put the men who associate with prostitutes at hard labor for a year in order to forget a life of pleasure and debauchery.² He discusses the Parisian "lorette" or kept woman, who, due to lack of money, is driven to dishonorable ways of getting it. Usually from the working class, she can ordinarily, if she is pretty, find a man who will keep her in return for sexual favors. Mundt nevertheless asserts that the women of the proletariat have greater beauty and natural charm than the women of other classes.³ The low level of society is indicated by the recognition and favor the "lorettes" receive in almost all classes. The "lorette" is to Mundt the symbol of the decadence of modern French society and its lack of regard for women. This lack of regard, he writes, has also reached alarming depths in America: "Der Luxus, die Arbeiter-Nöthe, das Lorettenhum der Frauen, mit allen daran hängenden socialen Uebeln und Krankheiten, sind aber so tief in die heutige amerikanische Gesellschaft eingedrungen, dass die ursprüngliche Volkskraft . . . dadurch leicht für immer zerfressen werden könnte."⁴ Returning to conditions in Germany, Mundt remarks: "Eine bedenkliche Wendung hat es namentlich mit den persönlichen Huldigungen der Schauspielerinnen und Sängerinnen genommen, die lange genug der verdächtige Moschus waren, mit welchem das thatenlose Deutschland seine geheimen Wunden und Uebel betäubend überstreute."⁵

Mundt criticizes the morality of the French actress and emphasizes the fact that the theater is a center for prostitution. He makes use of Rousseau's theory that a person who is paid for exhibiting his passions will disintegrate morally. Drama is played by prostitutes and portrays their sordid milieu. Industrialism has created lust for money and luxury. As a consequence, women have degenerated to creatures of luxury and pretty clothes without morality. Mundt calls all actresses "lorettes" and wishes that an

¹Mundt, Ein französisches Landschloß (Prag und Leipzig, 1855), p. 135.

²Mundt, Paris und Louis Napoleon (Berlin, 1858), II, 1 ff.

³Ibid., p. 41.

⁴Ibid., p. 44.

⁵Mundt, Dramaturgie (Berlin, 1848), pp. 30 f.

actress might marry into society and retain her social position as singers are able to do.¹ He directs his "J'accuse" at Louis Napoleon, for the latter is anti-social and therefore takes no interest in social problems:

"... die neunapoleonische Civilisation kann immer nur Prostitution sein, denn Prostitution ist die willenslose Abtretung aller Rechte, die man an sich selbst hat, und wodurch man um sich selbst betrogen wird. Die Demi-Monde-Damen in Paris, diese eigenthümliche Species der Louis Napoleonischen Zeit, sind daher nur die Priesterinnen, die den Altar der neuen französischen Civilisation versehen."²

Turning to conditions in Italy, Mundt objects to the interference of the priests in marriage. The family is often corrupted in this way, for the husband loses interest when the priests exert too much influence. Sometimes the priests are even guilty of seduction.³ "So haben die Priester in Italien besonders dadurch unglückliche Ehen gestiftet, und das Familienleben zerrüttet und vergiftet, dass sie unaufhörlich darauf bedacht sind, Jedem, der auch zu einer sittenlosen und gemeinen Person in ein geschlechtliches Verhältnisz getreten, zu einer Ehe mit derselben anzuhalten und dadurch eine eben so zweideutige als verderbliche Versöhnung mit der gesellschaftlichen Moral hervorzurufen."⁴ Only the decline of clerical power can restore the family and woman to a healthy level. Among the higher classes, woman's contact with the priests is more "à la mode" than anything else. Lack of education is the reason for the influence of the priests on Italian women.⁵ Prostitution in Rome is not as open as elsewhere, for the clergy are closely in touch with it and know all the secrets of the girls. Mundt labels Italian conditions hypocritical, for the prostitutes, outwardly religious, go to mass, yet carry on their trade during the remainder of the time.⁶

Mundt asserts that conditions were better under the ancient system of slavery, for although prostitution existed, it was more personal and was shut away from society, giving the appearance of

¹Mundt, Paris und Louis Napoleon, II, 89 ff.

²Ibid., p. 73.

³Mundt, Italienische Zustände (Berlin, 1859), III, 136.

⁴Ibid., IV, 156 f.

⁵Ibid., pp. 310 ff.

⁶Ibid., III, 126 ff.

virtue. When freedom appears, thinks Mundt, crime appears with it.¹

Mundt enjoys describing women of different character and nationality. He calls the French women more independent than the German or English woman, even though the latter stands on a level which rivals that of the male intellect.² The Parisian woman is bolder and freer than the English woman, who is free only in her home. Mundt thinks English women ungracious in their conduct. They are, however, very sincere in their friendships.³ German girls are too shut-in and this restriction is even worse after marriage, whereas the French woman gains a certain amount of liberty and independence through marriage. French women take a more active part in all phases of society.⁴

A woman in Paris who has reached forty is no longer a woman. She is either a man or a matron. She still plays a rôle in society, but she exerts her power in a different way. "Sie übernimmt gewissermaßen das Portefeuille der Gesellschaft, als Minister aller ihrer innern und äuszern Angelegenheiten, und wenn sie früher liebenswürdig war, so sucht sie jetzt wichtig zu werden, verschenkt ihren Rath wie sonst ihre Gunst und triumphirt durch ihre Lebenserfahrungen und Verbindungen, wie sonst durch ihre Toilettenkünste."⁵ The Parisian woman, though not gifted with great beauty, is nevertheless attractive and vivacious. She is not a coquette, but her nature differs from that of the German woman: "Die Französin . . . weisz nichts von der deutschen Hieroglyphenschrift der Zärtlichkeit, sie spricht laut, wo Jene seufzt, sie lacht übermüthig, wo Jene liebäugelt, sie ist stolz und befehlend, wo Jene verschämt und anschniegend ist."⁶ "Die Französin ist ein Charakter, die Deutsche ist ein Gemüth."

Mundt often mocks English women, while he admires the vivacity of the French, the oriental sensuality of the Jewess. He calls the Polish woman genial and devoted in love, German girls innocent and naive.⁷ Each city has its own particular type of woman. Prague women are national, original; Berlin women are boresome; Viennese are sensuous; Munich women are giddy and viva-

¹Mundt, Geschichte der Gesellschaft (1844), pp. 207 ff.

²Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, II, 204 f.

³Mundt, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, I, 74 f.

⁴Mundt, Charaktere und Situationen, II, 204 f.

⁵Mundt, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, I, 243.

⁶Ibid., p. 250.

⁷Mundt, Madonna, pp. 157 ff.

ciuous; there are delicate, naïve Swabians; small Leipzig women, desirous of marriage; large Hamburg girls with an earthy freshness. The laurel belongs, however, to the women of Prague. They are "nationale Schönheiten, denen an scharfgezeichneter Eigenthümlichkeit keine andere Bürgerin einer deutschen Stadt sich vergleichen lässt."¹ They have a sensuous poetry of expression and, in spite of their Catholicism, they are fleshly. "So zeigt sich Fülle und Energie des Lebens, Rundung und Harmonie der Formen, sinnlicher Schmelz und poetische Leidenschaft, kräftiger und gesunder Drang der Natur, ein Dasein für den Genuss geschaffen, aber ohne kränkelnde Sehnsüchtigkeit, sondern muthig und sieghaft im Herauskehren seiner Blüthe."²

Mundt at times feels his way into the feminine character and nature quite remarkably. Some of his descriptions of woman show us how well he understood the feminine make-up. He calls woman a sympathetic creature. Her heart is deep, unfathomable, soft, an open temple of love. She enjoys serving her master, mothering people, keeping house for someone. Woman should round out man; the feminine nature should soften and stimulate the male character. Charlotte Stieglitz is to Mundt the ideal of all the highest feminine qualities.³ Woman's definite task in life is to present "ein harmonisch in sich selbst zurückkehrendes Dasein . . . in welchem das geistige Entwicklungsleben immer wieder in den Naturfrieden sich hineinzubilden strebt, und worin das Weib ein allgemeines Prinzip ausdrückt, das allen Bildungen und Erscheinungen des Lebens seinen eigenthümlichen Stempel aufdrückt."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 293.

²Ibid., p. 296.

³Mundt, Denkmal, p. 54.

⁴Mundt, Aesthetik (Berlin, 1845), p. 284.

CHAPTER IV

THE POSITION OF MUNDT IN YOUNG GERMANY

Essentially a youth-movement, Young Germany was a period of Storm and Stress similar to that of Goethe's younger days. The distinguishing mark of this Storm and Stress of Young Germany was the claim of free personality. This claim, emphasized by the leaders of the group, was to be given to all people without discrimination. In addition to freedom of personality, the Young Germans desired, in common with the Romanticists, reformation of love and emancipation of the female sex. All of the Young German writers had, in general, much the same ideas concerning the enfranchisement of women, but a careful examination of them reveals differences. Such an examination will also cast light on the position of Theodor Mundt in Young Germany.

Mundt's social relations with women affected his writings little, with the possible exception of a love affair mirrored in Madonna, and the reflection of the life of Charlotte Stieglitz in the Denkmal. Not so with Gutzkow, "das Berliner Kind," who faithfully reproduced throughout his life, his social contacts with women. Particularly interesting was the effect of his love affairs with Rosalie von Scheidemantel and Therese von Baucheracht.¹ Heine's contacts with women left some marks on his prose, but affected to a greater degree his poetry.² Although Laube's social relations with women left a less definite trace on his literary products than was the case with Gutzkow, the topic of woman appealed to him from the start. Wienbarg, critic and pedagogue, dealt with the problems touching women less extensively than the rest, and was less influenced than the others by his experiences.

¹Cf. Otto P. Schinnerer, Woman in the Life and Work of Gutzkow, Diss. (Columbia University Press, 1924), chap. i.

²Heine was inconsistent in his attitude, for A. Kohut remarks: "Je nach seinen Stimmungen und Erfahrungen erhebt er das Weib in den siebenten Himmel oder schleudert es in die tiefste Hölle; bald erblickt er in ihm das Erhabenste und Herrlichste, was Gott geschaffen bald jedoch nur das verderbenbringende Prinzip, das Böse schlechthin" (Heinrich Heine und die Frauen [Berlin, 1888], p. 340).

Toward the better understanding of the investigation in the present chapter, it is necessary to examine the reactions of the various Young German writers to the Federal Decree of 1835, which prohibited their literary products, and caused a decided change in the tenets of some authors. Mundt, conservative before the Decree, had less to recant and remained fairly consistent in his attitude toward women. The Federal Decree condemned him on the basis of "radical" statements in Madonna which today appear perfectly innocuous. Mundt continued to publish journals and to write during the following seven years of strict surveillance. Although many of his claims of innocence and persecution appear pathetic, he nevertheless showed considerable courage in this period of stress. True, he did modify his more radical concepts, but he never denied his early theories about woman. After the Decree, Gutzkow and Laube were the most ready to retreat. Gutzkow shifted from opposition to marriage, absolute morality, and faithfulness, to the glorification of matrimony and condemnation of free love, the "free woman," and St. Simonism. Although he still demanded intellectual emancipation for women, he would not accept any other freedom, and he called the St. Simonians "crazy."¹ By 1836 he believed marriage to be a cultural institution.² He now desired only a reformation of marriage. Laube made the most complete volte face of any Young German. After 1835, he denied all of his early theories and became a staunch defender of marriage, the family, and constant love. His "modern love" vanished; he denied all of his St. Simonian views on marriage, constancy, and Christianity. Although he recommended a certain amount of intellectual emancipation for woman, he professed dislike for women as authors. He continued to praise the beauties of women and of the senses, but he no longer scorned faithfulness in love. Maintaining that he had formerly condemned only false, hypocritical unions, he now became certain that all nobler feelings were endowed with duration and, like Gutzkow, lauded family life as the center of all civilization.³ By the time of Die Bürger (1837), in which the hero, Valerius, finds he cannot endure the gossip and slander directed at his free love with the heroine, Camilla, Laube had become extremely moderate in his views, except for the fact that he advocated civil marriage emancipated from the church. His later writings show little ethical, social, or political content. Wienbarg and Heine discussed the problems touching woman so little

¹Royen, op. cit., p. 66.

²Schinnerer, op. cit., pp. 104 f.

³Nolle, op. cit., pp. 46 ff.

before 1835, that one cannot speak of a change in their tenets.

In this discussion of the relative positions of the Young Germans regarding woman, greater clarity is obtained by the division of the subject matter into two groups. The first group deals with the age-old problems surrounding woman, such as love, marriage, and divorce; the second group concerns the specific problems, such as political and intellectual emancipation, of the Young Germans.

Some differences are apparent in the Young German theories on love. Mundt believed in love as the basis for matrimony. Gutzkow, in his "Introduction" to Schleiermachers Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde (1833), did not believe in the permanence of "first love," for, in order to love deeply and successfully, one must have experienced love and developed one's capabilities. He therefore asserted, like Schleiermacher, that temporary trials would strengthen love and make it more durable. In Wally die Zweiflerin (1835), where he praised free love, he thought that, because of false ideas regarding fidelity, a woman was chiefly intent on not having a "past," and could attract men only through a certain naïveté. In the last analysis, he wanted the stigma of immorality removed from love, for he opposed prudery and false modesty. Wally committed suicide, not because of disappointment in love, but because of her religious doubts. Laube was by nature strongly sensual; the spiritual side of love held no appeal for him. In his novel, Die Poeten (1833),¹ where he drew pictures of seven women, ranging from the greatest constancy to the greatest inconstancy, he demanded free enjoyment of life and love, without limitations by law or morality. The fleshly descriptions in the novel remind one of similar passages in Heinse's Ardinghello, although Laube's sensuality, if one may judge by the youthful, extreme tendencies of Die Poeten, surpassed that of his contemporaries, as well as of Schlegel and Schleiermacher. Like Gutzkow, Laube was an enemy of faithfulness. His conception of free love required a super-couple above the scorn of society; such a couple would ennoble love without the aid of marriage. Wienberg was the only Young German to become an adherent of Gutzkow's plan for setting love free.

The views of Mundt concerning marriage were somewhat more moderate than those of Gutzkow and Laube. Mundt lauded marriage throughout his life, with brief relapses, especially during his courtship of Luise, when he veered toward free love and expressed lack of regard for matrimony.² He was convinced that wedlock would

¹Cf. Laube, Das junge Europa, 1833-1837.

²It appears that Mundt and Luise enjoyed a brief period

be more nearly perfect and more harmonious, the less it were dominated by the physical element. Gustav Kühne, Mundt's close friend, asserted just the opposite opinion: too strong a spiritual element would be ruinous.¹ But, like Mundt, he also restricted woman to the family, for he thought her worth and efficacy would cease if she left the home.² Gutzkow had, as early as 1831, professed doubts concerning marriage,³ while Laube, a believer in more freedom in love, was an enemy of matrimony in his early writings. Gutzkow saw harmony and freedom for woman only in marriage, however, and condemned radical ideas about relations between the sexes. His feminine figures (in his novels), restless, self-tormenting, and high-strung, show the distortion of a generation passing through a crisis.⁴ Gutzkow attributed the faults of marriage to woman's intellectual inferiority, just as Mundt had done. For Laube, marriage is too narrow, because he demanded freedom of the erotic instincts.⁵ "Im wesentlichen wird Laubes Demokratismus der Liebe ein Reich von lauter 'individues mobiles' bei denen nicht etwa bei ~~Enfantin~~ nur die Ehe 'successif,' sondern der Liebesgenuss von einem zum andern zeitlich abwechseln soll."⁶ Before 1835, Laube scorned faithfulness, and believed marriage was a necessary evil of society, although not all people needed wedlock to ennoble their love.⁷ He thought a strong free love more worthy than marriage. Heine condemned the lack of intellectual harmony in marriages where husband and wife had too little in common.⁸

The Young Germans were unanimous in their demands for the emancipation of marriage from the sanctions of the church. Mundt, who thought love should be the determining factor in marriage, especially condemned the interference of the Catholic church in matrimony. Gutzkow was the first among his contemporaries to suggest the introduction of civil marriage. Since Laube favored free

of free love before they were actually married in 1839; thus Mundt naturally enough favored free love, at least for a time.

¹Edgar Pierson, Empfundenes und Gedachtes, Lose Blätter aus Gustav Kühne's Schriften (Dresden und Leipzig, no date), pp. 5 ff.

²Ibid., p. 308.

³Schinnerer, op. cit., p. 79.

⁴Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 42.

⁵Karl Möckel, Der Gedanke der Menschheitsentwicklung im Jungen Deutschland, Diss. (Leipzig, 1916), p. 74.

⁶Royen, op. cit., p. 88.

⁷Nolle, op. cit., pp. 22 f.

⁸Kohut, op. cit., p. 349.

love in his youth, one is not surprised that he expressed himself for a love standing above the individual and freed from churchly authority.

The opinions of the Young Germans regarding divorce varied to a great degree. Mundt, although he hinted at divorce as a remedy, did not commit himself regarding the indissolubility of marriage. Gutzkow consistently advocated divorce throughout his life, but Laube, after the Decree of 1835, did not favor divorce. To Kühne, separation was not the answer to the problems of marriage: "Die Ehe ist eben diese Eintracht zweier Creaturen, diese Harmonie an Leib und Seele. Die Leichtigkeit der Lösung, wie sie das Landrecht begünstigt, konnte nur zur Frivolität, zur Verhöhnung alles heiligen Inhaltes führen."¹

Most of the Young Germans were only luke-warm toward the political emancipation of women. Even though in his earlier writings Mundt was inclined to favor it, his position is fairly representative of the group. Wienburg alone championed the ideal of political equality between man and woman, but he never arrived at a definite plan for its realization.² The group as a whole favored social reform which would emancipate woman culturally but it believed that an extension of her emancipation to the field of politics would be undesirable, because politics was in the domain of man and was therefore unsuited to woman.

In striving for the intellectual freedom of woman, Mundt is also representative of Young Germany. As Gutzkow indicates in Wally, woman could, however, be emancipated intellectually and achieve harmony and freedom only in marriage. While there was general agreement of the group on intellectual emancipation, individual members differed as to definitions. Consequently we find Mundt and Wienburg, for example, favoring woman's participation in literary pursuits, while Gutzkow and Laube opposed it.³ Only two Young Germans, Wienburg and Gutzkow, recommended any specific means for the improvement of woman's intellect. The former believed that special care should be exercised in the education of girls, because he thought their mental faculties were more pliable and receptive than those of boys.⁴ Gutzkow held a similar point of view after 1835, but for a different reason. He maintained

¹Gustav Kühne, Mein Carnival in Berlin (Braunschweig, 1843), p. 63.

²Dresch, op. cit., p. 60.

³Marggraff, op. cit., p. 311.

⁴Max Bartholomey, Ludolf Wienburg, ein pädagogischer Reformer des Jungen Deutschland (Langensalza, 1912), p. 15.

that woman was unable to grasp the materials ordinarily employed in the education of man, and therefore needed a type of education better suited to the feminine character.¹ As an afterthought, I mention the fact that Wienberg recommended women as educators of youth because of their quiet, beneficent influence on society.

The positions of the Young Germans relative to St. Simonism provide us with some interesting comparisons and contrasts. Mundt, as we have seen, knew Enfantin's program thoroughly and discussed it freely, but he remained critical and independent in his thought. He accepted certain portions of the St. Simonian emancipation of woman, but his conservatism is evident. Gutzkow's first reference to St. Simonism was in 1832, when he was leaning toward Enfantin's ideas on love, but the St. Simonian conceptions of marriage and the doctrine of the rehabilitation of the flesh did not enter his writings until his condemnation of them in 1835.² Although Mundt and Gutzkow had both demanded greater freedom in love, they were opposed to Enfantin's radical theories about marriage and free love. Gutzkow wished to make Wally the prototype of the Young German "free woman," but she was a distorted and untrue figure.³ She was to show clearly woman's unpreparedness for serious moral and religious conflicts and her subordination to man, especially in the intellectual field.⁴ Until his own marriage in 1836, Laube championed the "free woman," and his early ideas about the "free woman" and polygamy fell in with Enfantin's scorn of the holiness of marriage.⁵ In his St. Simonian novel, Die Poeten, he at first favored the "inconstant" woman, but changed his views in the course of the story. He was too frivolous to comprehend fully Enfantin's theories about the "free woman," and he did not mention the "social couple." After 1835, he shifted to direct opposition of St. Simonism. Wienberg and Heine opposed Enfantin's free love and "free woman," although Wienberg was the only Young German to favor the St. Simonian theory of the "social couple."⁶ Regarding

¹Hans Friedrich, Die religionsphilosophischen, soziologischen und politischen Elemente in den Prosadichtungen des jungen Deutschland, Diss. (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 75 f.

²Butler, op. cit., pp. 272 ff.

³Royen (op. cit., p. 56) thinks the reform of love more important in Wally than the religious elements, but both Schinnerer (op. cit., p. 98) and Butler (op. cit., p. 307) believe Gutzkow's adherence to feminism was definitely weaker in Wally.

⁴Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 27.

⁵Nolle, op. cit., p. 35.

⁶Dresch, op. cit., p. 60.

Heine's views there is a difference of opinion. According to Suhge, Heine agreed with the St. Simonian ideas on the emancipation of women, and thought woman should be the equal, not the servant, of man.¹ Butler asserts, however, that Heine did not sympathize with St. Simonian feminist views and that the "free woman" appeared absurd to him.² Heine was at the same time spiritualist and sensualist in love. Perhaps he was too much of an idealist to favor Enfantin's primitive promiscuousness. Heine, the most influential proclaimer of St. Simonian ideas in Germany, was drawn more by the religious phases of the movement.³ Wienberg had never awaited any help from France regarding the emancipation of women, for he openly mocked the St. Simonian doctrines. His theories about the enfranchisement of women were derived from their place of respect among the ancient Germanic tribes.⁴

On the basis of the discussion in this chapter, two Young Germans, Gutzkow and Laube, stand out as radical. Heine and Wienberg were less interested than the others in the problems affecting woman, and were consequently more conservative. Mundt, the only one to present a historical account of St. Simonism, was nevertheless only mildly influenced by Enfantin's ideas. He stands midway between the radical utterances of Gutzkow and Laube, and the disinterested, conservative statements of Heine and Wienberg. Mundt's treatment of woman was more logical and consistent than that of his contemporaries, and he possessed, in addition, the courage of his convictions.

¹Suhge, op. cit., p. 99.

²Butler, op. cit., p. 125.

³Dresch, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴Suhge, op. cit., p. 137.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works of Mundt (Chronological)

- Das Duett. Ein Roman. Berlin, 1831.
- Madelon oder die Romantiker in Paris. Eine Novelle. Leipzig, 1832.
- Der Basilisk, oder Gesichterstudien. Eine Novelle. Leipzig, 1833.
- Kritische Wälder. Blätter zur Beurtheilung der Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft unserer Zeit. Leipzig, 1833.
- Moderne Lebenswirren. Briefe und Abenteuer eines Salzschreibers. Leipzig, 1834.
- Madonna, Unterhaltungen mit einer Heiligen. Leipzig, 1835.
- Charlotte Stieglitz ein Denkmal. Berlin, 1835.
- Die Kunst der deutschen Prosa. Berlin, 1837.
- Charaktere und Situationen. Vier Bücher Novellen, Skizzen, Wanderungen auf Reisen und durch die neueste Literatur. Wismar und Leipzig, 1837.
- Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten. 3 vols. Altona, 1838.
- Thomas Müntzer. 3 vols. Altona, 1841.
- Gesammelte Schriften, Novellen und Dichtungen von Theodor Mundt. 2 vols. Berlin, 1843.
- Lesebuch der deutschen Prosa. Berlin, 1844.
- Die Geschichte der Gesellschaft in ihren neueren Entwicklungen und Problemen. Berlin, 1844.
- Carmela oder die Wiedertaufe. Hannover, 1844.
- Aesthethik. Die Idee der Schönheit und des Kunstwerks im Lichte unserer Zeit. Berlin, 1845.
- Mendoza, Der Vater der Schelme. 2 vols. Berlin, 1847.
- Allgemeine Literaturgeschichte. 3 vols. Berlin, 1848.
- Dramaturgie, oder Theorie und Geschichte der dramatischen Kunst. Berlin, 1848.
- Katechismus der Politik. Dem deutschen Volke gewidmet. Berlin, 1848.

- Die Matadore. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1850.
- Gedichte von Heyden. Edited by Theodor Mundt. Leipzig, 1852.
- Staatsberedtsamkeit der neueren Völker. Leipzig, 1850.
- Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart. Leipzig, 1853.
- Geschichte der deutschen Stände nach ihrer gesellschaftlichen
Entwicklung und politischen Vertretung. Berlin, 1854.
- Krim Girai, ein Bundesgenosse Friedrichs des Groszen. Berlin,
1855.
- Ein französisches Landschloß. Prag und Leipzig, 1855.
- Geschichte der Gesellschaft. 2d ed., revised. Berlin, 1856.
- Cagliostro in Petersburg. Prag und Leipzig, 1858.
- Paris und Louis Napoleon. Neue Skizzen aus dem französischen
Kaiserreich. 2 vols. Berlin, 1858.
- Graf Mirabeau. 4 vols. Berlin, 1858.
- Italienische Zustände. 2 vols. Berlin, 1859.
- Robespierre. 3 vols. Berlin, 1859.
- Czar Paul. 6 vols. Berlin, 1861.
- Niccolo Macchiavelli und das System der modernen Politik. 3d ed.
Berlin, 1861.

Periodicals Edited by Mundt

- Schriften in bunter Reihe zur Anregung und Unterhaltung. Leipzig,
1834.
- Literarischer Zodiacus. Journal für Zeit und Leben, Wissenschaft
und Kunst. Leipzig, 1835-January 1836.
- Dioskuren für Wissenschaft und Kunst. 2 vols. Berlin, 1836-1837.
- Der Delphin. Ein Almanach. Altona, 1838.
- Der Freihafen. 14 vols. Altona, 1838-1843.

Books

- Berdrow, Otto. Rahel Varnhagen. Stuttgart, 1902.
- Bergmann, Ernst. Die ethischen Probleme in den Jugendschriften
der Jungdeutschen. Diss. Leipzig, 1906.
- Brandes, Georg. Das junge Deutschland. Berlin, 1904.

- Braun, Lily. Die Frauenfrage, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Seite. Leipzig, 1901.
- Brentanos Sämtliche Werke. Edited by Otto Brechler and August Sauer. Vol. X. München und Leipzig, 1910.
- Butler, E. M. The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.
- Caselmann, August. Karl Gutzkows Stellung zu den religiös-ethischen Problemen seiner Zeit. Augsburg, 1900.
- Draeger, Otto. Theodor Mundt und seine Beziehungen zum Jungen Deutschland. Marburg, 1909.
- Dresch, J. Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne. Paris, 1904.
- Ebersberger, Thea (ed.). Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Leben Luise Mühlbachs. Leipzig, 1902.
- Feist, Lore. Rahel Varnhagens Stellung zwischen Romantik und jungem Deutschland. Diss. München, 1926.
- Friedrich, Hans. Die religionsphilosophischen, soziologischen und politischen Elemente in den Prosadichtungen des jungen Deutschlands. Diss. Leipzig, 1907.
- Gamper, Esther. Dichter und Dichtertum zur Zeit des Jungen Deutschland. Diss. Zürich, 1932.
- Gerathewohl, Fritz. St. Simonistische Ideen in der deutschen Literatur. München, 1920.
- Goethes Werke. Weimar Edition. Vol. XX. Weimar, 1892.
- Gottschall, Rudolph von. Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. 7th ed. 2 vols. Breslau, 1901.
- Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke. Edited by August Sauer. Vol. I. Wien, 1927.
- Gutzkow, Karl. Skizzenbuch. Kassel und Leipzig, 1839.
- _____. Wally die Zweiflerin. Edited by Eugen Wolff. Jena, 1905.
- Harsing, E. Wolfgang Menzel und das junge Deutschland. Diss. Münster, 1909.
- Heilborn, Ernst. Zwischen zwei Revolutionen. Berlin, 1927.
- Heinse, Wilhelm. Sämtliche Werke. Edited by Carl Schuddekopf. Vol. IV. Leipzig, 1902.
- Hippel, Theodor von. Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber. Berlin, 1792.
- _____. Über die Ehe. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774.
- Houben, H. H. Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang. Leipzig, 1911.

- Kleinmayr, Hugo von. Welt- und Kunstanschauung des Jungen Deutschland. Wien und Leipzig, 1930.
- Kluckhohn, Paul. Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik. Halle, 1922.
- Kohut, Adolph. Heinrich Heine und die Frauen. 2d ed. Berlin, 1888.
- Kühne, Gustav. Mein Carneval in Berlin. Braunschweig, 1843.
- Laubes Gesammelte Werke. Edited by H. H. Houben. Vols. I-III. Leipzig, 1908.
- Lublinski, S. Litteratur und Gesellschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Vol. III. Berlin, 1900.
- Marggraff, Hermann. Deutschland's jüngste Literatur- und Culturepoche. Leipzig, 1839.
- Möckel, Karl. Der Gedanke der Menschheitsentwicklung im Jungen Deutschland. Diss. Leipzig, 1916.
- Nolle, Karl. Heinrich Laube als sozialer und politischer Schriftsteller. Diss. Münster, 1914.
- Pierson, Edgar. Gustav Kühne, sein Lebensbild und Briefwechsel mit Zeitgenossen. Dresden und Leipzig, 1889.
- _____. Empfundenes und Gedachtes. Lose Blätter aus Gustav Kühne's Schriften. Dresden und Leipzig, no date.
- Prinz, Walter. Theodor Mundt als Literarhistoriker. Diss. Halle, 1912.
- Proelss, Johannes. Das junge Deutschland. Stuttgart, 1892.
- Quadfasel, Hanna. Theodor Mundts literarische Kritik und die Prinzipien seiner "Aesthetik." Diss. Heidelberg, 1932.
- Rahel, ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde. Edited by Hans Landsberg. Berlin, 1904.
- Royen, Eduard. Die Auffassung der Liebe im jungen Deutschland. Diss. Münster, 1926.
- Sand, George. Indiana. Edited by H. H. Thornton. New York, 1935.
- _____. Lélia. Paris, 1881.
- Schier, Alfred. Die Liebe in der Frühromantik. Diss. Marburg, 1912.
- Schinnerer, Otto P. Woman in the Life and Work of Gutzkow. Diss. Columbia University Press, 1924.
- Schlegel, Friedrich. Lucinde. Jena, 1907.

- Schleiermachers Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde. Mit einer Vorrede von Karl Gutzkow. Hamburg, 1835.
- Schönfeld, Margarete. Gutzkows Frauengestalten. Berlin, 1933.
- Steinhausen, Georg. Geschichte der deutschen Kultur. 2 vols. Leipzig und Wien, 1913.
- Subotic, Dragutin P. Rahel Levin und das Junge Deutschland. Diss. München, 1914.
- Suhge, Werner. Saint-Simonismus und junges Deutschland. Berlin, 1935.
- Tanneberger, Irmgard. Die Frauen der Romantik und das soziale Problem. Oldenburg, 1928.
- Wehl, Feodor. Das junge Deutschland. Hamburg, 1886.
- Wieth-Knudsen, K. A. Feminism, A Sociological Study of the Woman Question from Ancient Times to the Present Day. Translated by Arthur G. Chater. London, 1928.
- Ziegler, Theobald. Die geistigen und socialen Strömungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. 2d ed. Berlin, 1901.

Articles

- Bartholomey, Max. "Ludolf Wienbarg, ein pädagogischer Reformers des Jungen Deutschland," Pädagogisches Magazin, 437. Heft. Langensalza, 1912.

